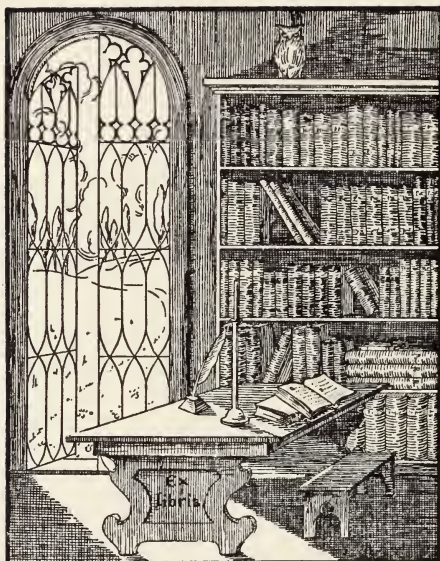


NEW AMSTERDAM AND ITS PEOPLE

BY J-H-INNES



Alfred Willstatter

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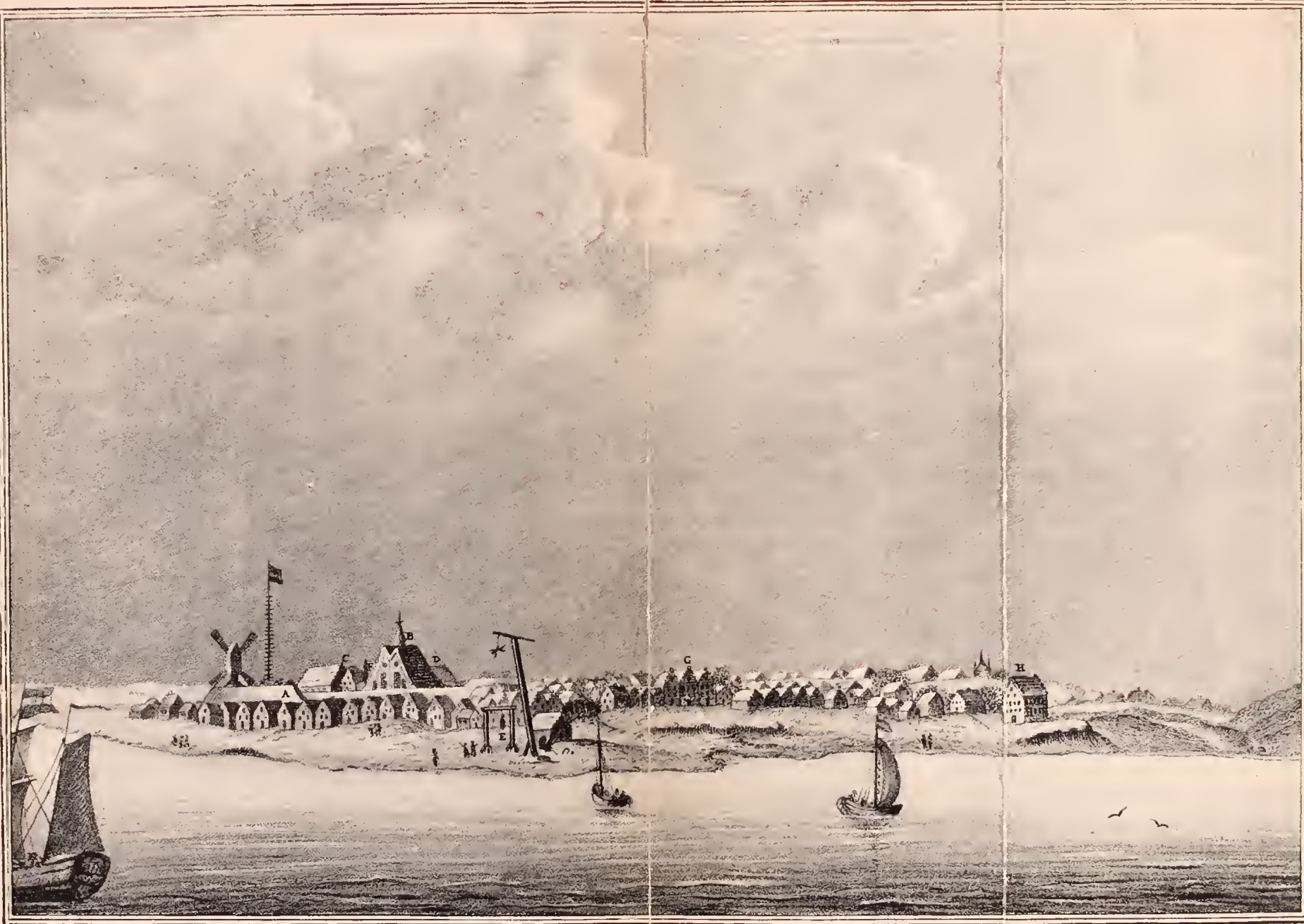
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NEW AMSTERDAM
AND ITS PEOPLE

NEW AMSTERDAM ABOUT THE
YEAR 1650.

From a copy of an ancient reversed
etching, published by Justus Danckers,
at Amsterdam.

- A. The Fort.
- B. Church of St. Nicholas.
- C. The Jail.
- D. Director-General's House.
- E. The Gallows.
- F. The Pillory.
- G. West India Company's
Storehouse.
- H. The Tavern.



NEW AMSTERDAM AND ITS PEOPLE

*Studies, Social and Topographical, of the Town
under Dutch and Early English Rule*

BY

J. H. INNES

WITH MAPS, PLANS, VIEWS, ETC.

Maar gij, ô wel, en alder-heerlijkst-Land,
Weest dankbaar, an des milden Gevers hand.
Die u als in een Lust-hof heeft geplant.

Die gij u kind'ren
Meugt laten tot een Eeuwig-eygendom,
Tot dat het Zaad der Vrouwe wederom
Verschijn: tot ons verlossing: Wellekom!

Wie zal 't hem hind'ren?

JACOB STEENDAM

NEW YORK
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

1902

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P R E F A C E

IT is perhaps unfortunate, in some respects, that Washington Irving chose to employ his great talents in writing the amusing "Knickerbocker History" of New York. A burlesque history of New York does not seem to be called for *per se*, any more than a burlesque history of the Plymouth Colony, and the presentation of a fictitious type of the colonists of the former is calculated to work the same sort of inconveniences as would the selection, for example, of Colonel Pride or of Praise-God Barebones as a type of the latter. Readers of such works are supposed, it is true, to bear in mind the fact that they are considering the humorous descriptions of non-existent characters; but when for any reason the work becomes almost a classic, as it were, of the literature of the country, the type therein portrayed passes insensibly in the popular mind into something like the embodiment of truth.

The superficial American who travels in England, or the superficial Englishman who travels in America, when he writes a book about his travels, is apt to set forth the few people he has chanced to meet as representatives of national types of character. Both of these worthies are even more prone to do the same thing when they travel in a foreign country with the tongue of which they are of necessity but imperfectly acquainted, but in such cases their performances usually fall beneath the dignity of criticism.

No community, however, can be rightly judged in this manner, for in each one are to be found traits of character almost as diverse and distinct as are the individuals who compose it. New York is no exception to this rule. Within

the period of the first thirty or forty years of the colonization of New Amsterdam there are to be met with, in the town, representatives of *every* country of Europe west of the line of the Slavonic peoples. The Dutch, of course, greatly predominated, but their characteristics also are exceedingly varied. In the public and private records of the colony there are to be found traits of profound and of thoughtless men, men crafty and men open-minded, mild or haughty, religious or profane, moral or immoral, learned or ignorant, freedom-loving or despotic, small-minded men in office, puffed up with notions of their boundless importance, men of shrewd business capacity, and reckless speculators, — all very much as may be found upon the island of Manhattan in this year of grace nineteen hundred and two. About the only type which the author has been unable to meet with in his researches is the dunder-headed Dutchman of fictitious history and of historical fiction, — the embodiment of the popular idea of the Dutch phlegmatic temperament; a marvellous compound of Captain Bunsby and the Fat Boy in Pickwick.

At a later period Mr. D. T. Valentine began the first really earnest and systematic attempt to bring out the actual features of the old Dutch establishment. The labors of this gentleman were severe, though not very methodical, and he is entitled to great credit for the mass of materials which he has brought together out of their original obscurity. Mr. Valentine, however, was not very well acquainted with the Dutch language, and, worse than that, he was peculiarly prone to giving fanciful explanations to imperfectly understood facts. These sometimes led to the most extraordinary and absurd conclusions. Thus, for example, when some years after the surrender to the English, the ferry-master at Haarlem discovered that he was being deprived of his legitimate fees by a practice which had grown up among the drovers of driving their horses and cattle through the woods to a ford across the narrow Spuyten Duyvil Creek, near the present King's Bridge, and there wading across at certain stages of the tide, he applied for permission to erect a tavern at this spot for the

purpose of watching the wading-place. Mr. Valentine appears to have found a portion of the record granting the ferry-master the privilege of establishing the tavern at what is designated by the illiterate scribe as "the wedding-place." Thereupon Mr. Valentine has given a romantic account, to the effect that this paltry tavern, in its lonely and then almost inaccessible location in the wilderness, *received its name from being the favorite resort of wedding parties from New Amsterdam.*

Again, in the case of Gerrit Hendricksen, who was familiarly called — in all probability from some peculiarity of his person or habitual dress — "*de blauw boer*," literally, the blue boor or farmer, Mr. Valentine, having found certain deeds in which the property is described as adjoining "*de blauw boer*," has in some inexplicable manner translated the phrase as "*The Blue Boar*," and (perhaps with visions of the Boar's Head in Eastcheap in his mind) has gravely stated that the premises referred to *were occupied as a tavern with the sign of the Blue Boar.*

Many other examples of Mr. Valentine's inaccuracies might be given, but the foregoing will suffice. They seem to have been very carefully followed in many instances by subsequent writers whose accounts are based upon his researches. Even in the case of so graceful a writer as the author of the "Tour around New York," his work is marred by numerous errors whenever he quits the domain of personal reminiscences.

Since, then, Washington Irving has described New Amsterdam, not as it was; and since Mr. Valentine has described it, in many respects as it was not, there seemed to be some room for an attempt to extract from the original records something which should more closely represent the actual conditions existing in the Dutch town, — whence the present essay.

The work is mainly based upon topographical researches, the dangerous field of family genealogy having been avoided by the author as far as possible, except where it seemed necessary to introduce genealogical matter in order to elucidate various portions of the text.

The especial acknowledgments of the author are due to Mr. W. Eames, Librarian of the Lenox Library, for many favors in the prosecution of his researches, and more particularly for placing at his service the extensive and very valuable Bancker Collection, so-called, of plans and surveys, in the possession of the Library. These, though only of indirect benefit to the author in the present work, are invaluable to the student of the topography of New York in the later Colonial period.

So, too, the especial thanks of the author are owing to his friend, Mr. A. J. F. van Laer, Librarian of the Manuscript Department of the State Library at Albany, for the unwearied patience and courtesy with which he has met the author's somewhat large calls upon his time and attention, and for the valuable information received from him upon many points. The enthusiastic interest which this gentleman has shown in the history and antiquities of the offshoot from his native country, which, planted upon the island of Manhattan in the early portion of the seventeenth century, has grown from feeble beginnings till it is threatening to rob London itself of the municipal pre-eminence of the world, cannot but be gratifying to a native New York student of the history of the latter metropolis.

J. H. I.

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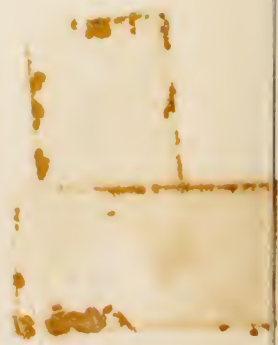
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NEW AMSTERDAM AND ITS PEOPLE





Plan of New Amsterdam

About 1644

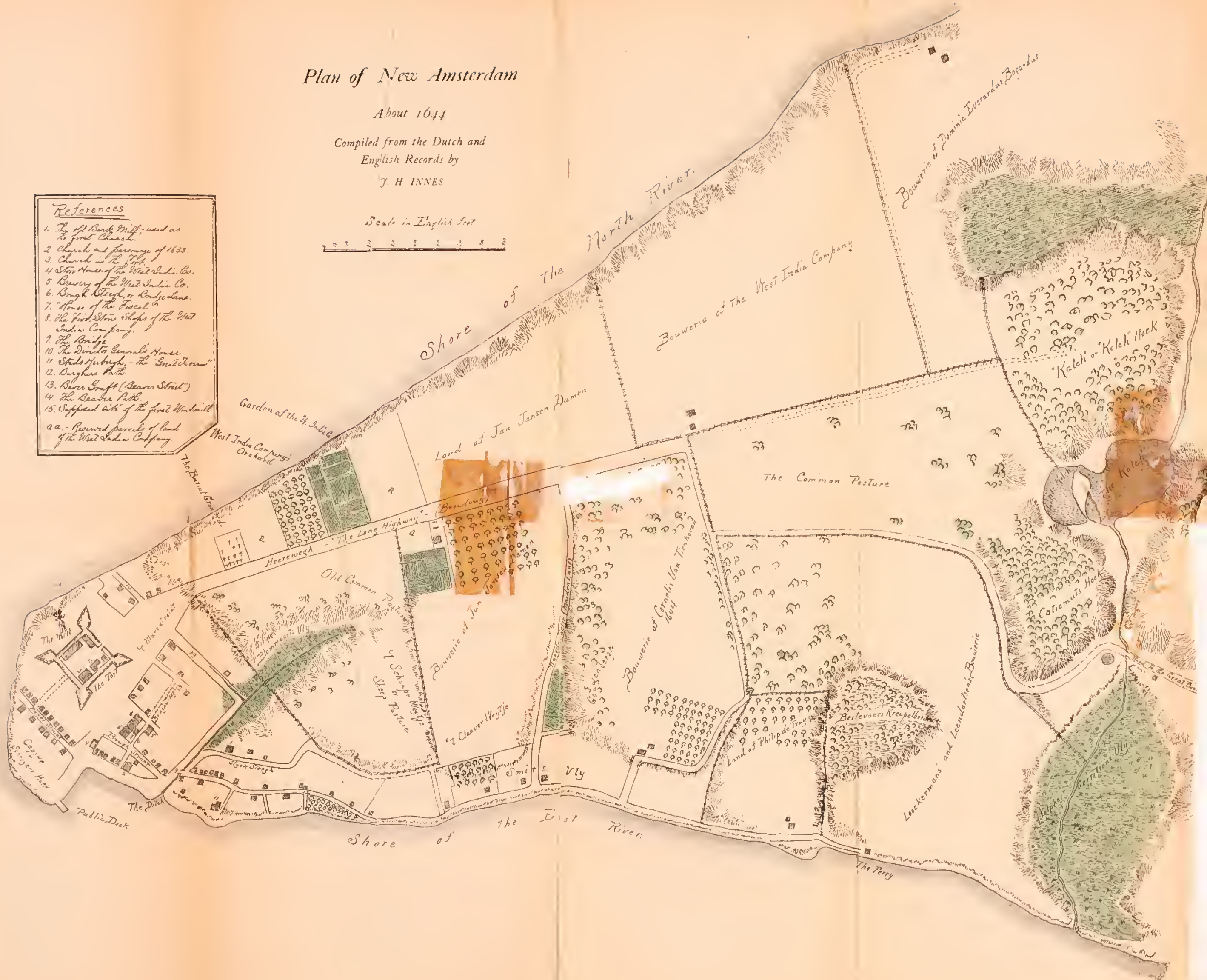
*Compiled from the Dutch and
English Records by*

J. H. INNES

Scale in English feet

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1. *Thy off. Body Mill; used as
the first Church.*
 2. *Church and parsonage of 1633.*
 3. *Church in the Fort.*
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 7. *"House of the Fiscal"*
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India Company.*
 9. *The Bridge*
 10. *The Director General's House*
 11. *Stads Huysigh - The "Grote Toren"*
 12. *Burgers Path.*
 13. *Beaver Graft (Beaver Street)*
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 15. *Supposed site of the first Windmill*
- a a. - *Received parcels of land
of the West India Company.*



NEW AMSTERDAM AND ITS PEOPLE

CHAPTER I

EARLY GROWTH OF THE SETTLEMENT.—THE COMMON PASTURE FIELD.—BRUGH STRAET AND BROUWER STRAET.—PHILIP GERAERDY AND THE WHITE HORSE TAVERN

Nor you, ye proud, impute to these the fault,
If mem'ry o'er their tomb no trophies raise,
Where through the long-drawn aisle and fretted vault
The pealing anthem swells the note of praise.

GRAY.

THE city of New York has been fortunate in the preservation of the early records of its settlement. The study of the beginnings of the great centres of population of the world possesses a peculiar interest for many, but the early history of some of these cities, such as Rome, London, and Paris, is lost in the obscurity of ages long past; while others, such as St. Petersburg, and, to a certain extent, Berlin, built in pursuance of a rigid, pre-arranged plan of the governmental powers, possess no more of antiquarian interest than does the growth of New York under the Commissioners' plan of 1807.

In New Amsterdam, however, the early growth of the town was not only in accordance with the process of natural accretion, but it was made under the auspices of the West India Company, a private corporation, which kept a rather jealous eye upon its officials and its colonists, and maintained a constant intercommunication with them, by means of reports, letters of instruction, and a system of records of even the most trivial transactions. These documents, though most of

the very earliest of them are supposed to have perished, are quite complete and full from the year 1638, and from them it is possible to gain a comprehensive view of New Amsterdam at almost any subsequent period during the Dutch rule.

The early course of building at the new settlement is pretty well known. The original log blockhouse, with its surrounding palisades, undoubtedly occupied a part of the site of the later Fort Amsterdam; that is to say, it stood within the space embraced by the present Bowling Green, Whitehall, Bridge, and State streets. Clustering around this structure were the small cabins of the first settlers, most of whom were mere Indian traders. Many of these cabins were doubtless destroyed soon after the larger fortifications were "staked out," as it is expressed in a letter of 1626. The remainder of the thirty dwelling-houses which had been built before the close of that year were apparently scattered in the vicinity of the blockhouse, in such positions as had been chosen by the builders, no system of streets existing as yet, and the houses possibly not being considered as permanent. Afterwards, in a few instances these earliest settlers received grants of the plots which they had thus pre-empted, in this way causing some irregularity and inconvenience in the ground-plan subsequently adopted.¹ These early cabins are said to have been "of bark." They were probably duly framed of hewn timber, but owing to the lack of saw-mills at this time had been covered, after the fashion of shingling, with the thick bark of the chestnut or of other suitable forest trees. The roofs were all thatched with the native reeds.²

¹ See, however, the remarks in note, *post*, page 33, as to the indications of a system of streets; or rather lanes, earlier than that finally adopted.

² It is the writer's opinion that the very valuable engraved view of New Amsterdam, usually spoken of as the "Hartgers view," which is supposed to be the earliest one extant of the settlement, is to be referred to the period above spoken of in the text, and may be fixed with comparative certainty to some time between the years 1628 and 1632, a date considerably earlier than is usually ascribed to it. A slight examination of this view by any person acquainted with the early topography of New Amsterdam will show that it is a reversed one, and as such must, in all probability, have been taken by means of a plain camera obscura, — no doubt from some point on the Long Island shore, — and

+ Fort nieuw Amsterdam op de Manhatans



NEW AMSTERDAM, ABOUT 1630.

Reversed and enlarged from the View in Hartgers' "Beschrijvingh van Virginia," Lenox Library, New York City.

Soon after the first body of agricultural settlers sent over by the West India Company had arrived, at about the period last mentioned, and after the Director, Peter Minuit, had effected the purchase of Manhattan Island from the Indians, a body of negro slaves belonging to the Company was set to work clearing a large space of ground east of the present Bowery, and extending from a fresh-water swamp occupying the site of the present Roosevelt and James streets to Eighteenth or Twentieth Street. This tract was divided into six "bouwerys" or farms, which, with the buildings erected upon them by the West India Company, and with certain stock furnished by that body, were leased to various tenants.

In addition to these farms, several clearings were begun by individuals, who were promised grants of land on favorable

never restored to its true position. The correct view appears by simply holding a mirror to the reversed one. Having been obtained by this method, it is evident that the sketch must approach accuracy in its main details, subject, of course, to some impairment owing to the small scale upon which the picture is drawn. Examining it, now, closely, we find one of its principal features to be a row of stepped gables running parallel with the east side of the fort, and belonging to some buildings of more than ordinary size. These can be none other than the Company's "Stone Houses" upon Winckel Straet. Between them and the river shore no sign appears of the church, erected in 1633. A small cluster of cottages is seen upon the westerly side of the Broad Street swamp and its ditch; another group near the intersection of the present Beaver Street and Broadway; and a few more near the windmill upon the North River shore. The buildings shown number about thirty or thirty-five. Upon the East River shore is shown the bluff, just west of which the City Tavern was erected in 1641; a thicket or grove upon its summit undoubtedly conceals from view a building of much interest, the old bark mill, in its isolated location east of the swamp or Blommaert's Vly, in the loft of which building the first church services were held. Most of these localities will be treated of more in detail in the text. As for the matter which seems to have somewhat puzzled Mr. G. M. Asher in his "Essay on the Books and Pamphlets relating to New Netherland," — that no buildings are shown within the fort, the answer is that none were as yet built there; and the main design of the view is evidently to show the newly planned fortification, *as originally contemplated*, for it will be noticed that the walls show embrasures, which, as far as we are informed, never existed there, the structure as finished being merely a sodded earthwork, upon which the guns were mounted *en barbette*. There is also a fifth bastion shown, upon the south side of the fort, of which no mention is made in the records or in maps. It is not at all improbable that this view was originally annexed to a plan, or report of the engineer, to the West India Company.

terms by the Company; while to aid in providing for the maintenance of its officials and servants of various degrees, the West India Company caused to be cleared and placed under cultivation the tract extending from Fulton to Chambers Street, and from Broadway to the North River, well known at first as the "Company's Bouwery;" then, after the surrender, in 1664, as the "Duke's Farm," and the "King's Farm," by virtue of its confiscation to the Crown; and later as the "Church Farm," the property of Trinity Church.

The cleared land upon all these bouwerijs, however, was immediately taken up for the cultivation of tobacco or grain, and no suitable pasture was found for the cattle. To remedy this, the Company cleared in part, and enclosed for a common pasture field, a tract of twenty-five or thirty acres, extending from the west side of Broadway to the present Nassau and Chatham streets, and from the line of Ann Street up to a small pond known as the "Little Kolck," near the present Duane Street.¹ To this pasture field and to the Company's Farm a road extended from the fort, along the present Broadway, then turning eastward and again northward, it skirted the common pasture field, following the lines of the present Ann, Nassau, and Chatham streets as far as a point about at the junction of North William and Chatham streets, where it deviated to the eastward for the purpose of going around the high ground known as Catiemut's Hill (this portion of the road has long been closed), after which it passed along the present Chatham Square and the Bowery, giving access to the farms already mentioned. After the lapse of many years, when the enclosure spoken of was no longer used for a common pasture, and when the fences had been removed, the road naturally struck a diagonal line across the open space, thus marking out the present Park Row. The earlier route, as above mentioned, however, was in all probability the first

¹ There was, however, a temporary pasturage enclosure laid out at the time of the arrival of the first agricultural colonists. This, the well-known Schaapen Weide, or Sheep Pasture, south of Wall Street, will be spoken of hereafter.

road of any considerable length on Manhattan Island,¹ antedating by several years the river road along the upper portion of the present Pearl Street.

Soon after 1626, the machinery for a saw-mill arrived from Holland. This mill, worked by wind-power, after the Holland fashion, was erected on the shore of Nutten, now Governor's Island, — a situation which will seem the less singular if one calls to mind not only the facilities for floating logs to the spot from the neighboring shores, but also the hundred acres and more on the island itself, overgrown with the forest of chestnut, oak, and hickory trees which had given the island its name. With the advent of this mill, of course, the buildings of New Amsterdam began to assume a more finished appearance. Within a few years after 1633 they had extended easterly along the north side of Pearl Street (which here ran nearly along the shore of the river) almost as far as the present Broad Street, where at this time the tide ebbed and flowed through a small salt-water creek which received the drainage of a considerable area of wet land lying a short distance back from the river. Here a bridge was built, which afforded access to a few scattered houses along the shore beyond.

As the importance of the settlement grew, the West India Company determined to provide more effectually for its protection; and the fort, laid out in 1628, according to the military science of the day, by an engineer sent from Holland, had been completed by the year 1635, together with the various offices of government which it contained. It was designed at first to surround the fort with a broad esplanade, but this plan was afterwards for various reasons abandoned; while it was entertained, however, certain buildings of the West India Company were constructed east of the fort, to face the esplanade, and at a distance of nearly two hundred feet from the wall. These were a row of five stone houses containing various workshops of the Company, and will be spoken of more in detail hereafter; they played a most important part in the topography of the rising town. When it

¹ See *post*, pages 152 and 271, as to the lane known as the Slyck Steegh.

became desirable, a few years after the construction of these buildings, to lay out additional streets for the increasing population, one street was laid out from the south end of this row of buildings towards the bridge at Broad Street before spoken of, and this received the name of Brugh Straet, or Bridge Street, its present designation; while a parallel one from the north end of the row of shops, was called, from the West India Company's brewery, which stood upon it, by the name of Brouwer Straet, and when, a number of years afterwards, it was the first street in the town to be paved with cobblestones, it was called the Stony Street, and is to-day still known as Stone Street.

In the mean time, while these changes were going on in the village, most of the available farming land in the lower half of Manhattan Island had been appropriated. A great deal of the territory, picturesque enough to the eye, offered few inducements to the Dutch farmers, who arrived in increasing numbers,—it was “scrubby,” as they wrote home. Consequently, these began to turn their attention to the neighboring parts of New Jersey and of Long Island, where at Pavonia and Bergen, at Gouwanus and the Wallabout, and along the “Mespát Kill,”—the present malodorous Newtown Creek,—and upon the East River shore, they settled along the edges of the marshes, “like frogs around a pond,” as Pliny has it. These first settlements over the river were made about in the years 1636–40: a ferry now became desirable, and was probably started about this period, at a point where the river was narrowest, near the present Dover Street. To meet the travel from this ferry, a road was extended eastward till it came out upon the river shore near the present Hanover Square, and from that point it followed the water-side to the ferry. East of the present Broad Street, it became known as the Hoogh Straet, or High Street; along it and along the East River shore, houses began to spring up, and this part of the town became for a long time the principal seat of the social and business activity of the place.

By the year 1655, considerable attention had been paid to regulating the streets and removing encroachments, and New Amsterdam had begun to assume the appearance of a settled town. Selecting that period of time for a survey of some of the features of the Dutch settlement, let us take our station at the head of Brouwer, or Stone Street; in front of us, across the Marekveltdt, — later Whitehall Street, but now usually known as an extension of Broadway, — rise the sodded ramparts of Fort Amsterdam, with one of its brass six-pounders trained directly down the narrow street. Inside the fort walls appears the broad stone back of the Governor's house, flanked by two great exterior chimneys at the ends; and to the left or south of this, likewise within the fort, is the Dutch church with its steep double-gabled roof and low belfry. Beyond these buildings may perhaps be seen the tall flagstaff with the orange, white, and blue colors of the West India Company, and a glimpse may be caught likewise of the slowly revolving sails of the Company's grist-mill, on a little knoll outside the fort, on the site of the present Battery Park. Behind us, the unpaved street¹ slopes down towards a small bridge at the ditch, or graft, in what is now Broad Street; and at our right, upon the northeast corner of the street, is the White Horse Tavern of Philip Geraerdy.

Just what induced Philip Gérard, as he called himself, or Geraerdy, as his Dutch neighbors called him, to quit Paris (for that was his native place), and to try his fortunes in the little village springing up around the fort at New Amsterdam, it is not easy to surmise. The Paris of the first half of the seventeenth century was, even more than the Paris of a century later, the centre of the political, literary, and social life of Europe; and it is not to be supposed that the native Parisian of that time had greater predilections for the dull life of a colonist than the Parisians of later days. Cardinal Richelieu, the most subtle politician of that age, with his

¹ The residents of this street petitioned on the 15th of March, 1655, that they might be allowed to pave the street with cobblestones at their own expense, but no action was taken in the matter for a considerable period.

tenacious purpose of humbling the House of Austria, had indeed recently thrown France (in alliance with Sweden), into the bloody struggle of the Thirty Years' War, which was then desolating Germany and the Flemish provinces: there was a constant demand for recruits for the French armies, and Philip was of the military age, — born about 1602, — and as the great French and Swedish generals of that day had the habit of very freely exposing their men to the enemy, Philip may have considered the somewhat monotonous service of the West India Company a refuge from the risks of that most bloody warfare, — as, in fact, did many others.

However this may be, Philip Gérard and Marie Pollet, his wife, found their way to New Amsterdam prior to 1639, and soon established a small tavern — in fact, small enough to be sometimes designated a mere *koek-huys*, or cake-house — upon the corner of the Marckveldt and Brouwer Straet.

The change which awaited Philip in quitting the French metropolis must have been a great one. There, all was bustling life, but surrounded everywhere by memorials of times long past: in the Rue St. Denis and in the Rue St. Jacques he must have often watched the crowds coming and going along those historic highways over which the traffic of nigh two thousand years had passed; from the river-side, at the old palace of the Louvre, he had doubtless often viewed that scene, never to be forgotten, where between the ancient, overhanging houses on both sides of the Seine, the isle of La Cité appeared, with its tall old mansions and sharp open point at the Place Dauphine, — like a vast galley in full sail down the river, the great bronze equestrian statue of Henri Quatre at its prow, and the heavy square towers of Notre Dame closing the view. From the same point too, as he looked southwards, he could see the tall graceful spire of Ste. Geneviève, where it marked the tomb of King Clovis; and turning down the river he could watch, at his right, the gay throngs of the people of fashion in the garden of the Tuileries, or, across the river at his left, the frolicking, brawling, drinking, fighting, and love-making crowd of students of the University, in

the Pré aux Clercs, — likely enough he had mingled with the latter many a time.

Now, however, in New Amsterdam, all his surroundings were new and humble: from the garden behind his tavern (which garden stretched in an irregularly shaped plot of nearly one hundred and fifty feet in length towards the centre of the present block, and together with the site of the tavern itself is at present covered by the massive pile of the Produce Exchange), he looked, in the first years of his residence here, down a low slope of open ground to a stretch of bogs and bushes extending northwards, with a little sluggish brook winding through it. This was Blommaerts Vly, called after two or three early settlers of that name; it is now covered by Broad Street and its buildings. Encircling this marsh, the ground rose into low hills, in former years a common pasture ground for cattle, and afterwards a waste spot, where, between boulders and blackberry bushes, the negro slaves of the West India Company were allowed to cultivate for their own use little patches of Indian corn, beans, and other vegetables, till 1638, when the land was leased by the Company for six years to Jan Damen, whose farm adjoined it, and who placed part of this ground, along Broadway, under cultivation, and used part as a sheep pasture. Between these enclosed fields of the company and the low hillock upon which Geraerdy's tavern stood, a small arm of the marsh extended westwards. This the Company had attempted to drain by constructing an open ditch along the line of the present Beaver Street; and along this ditch two or three cottages were built: from Beaver Street down to Stone, along the present Broadway, were one or two more houses, and down Stone Street as many more; these were all of Philip Geraerdy's immediate neighbors, when he built the White Horse tavern in 1641. The tavern was, as has been said, a small affair, — only eighteen by twenty-five feet in size, — and the carpenter who erected it estimated that seventy-five florins, or thirty to forty dollars of the present currency, would compensate him for his time. Its "one door and one window" opened into an apartment which

was in all probability kitchen, dining-room, parlor, and tap-room, and its thatched roof was still in existence as late as 1658. Philip's tavern connections were not, in fact, of the highest. The magnates of the city usually patronized the "City Tavern," on the water-side; the country people from across the Hudson River resorted to the tavern kept by Pieter Kock and Annetje his wife, on the opposite side of the Marckveldt, near where they landed their market boats; and the Long Island farmers were in the habit of stopping at Sergeant Litschoe's tavern on the present Pearl Street. There remained, however, a considerable class to draw custom from, composed of the servants and "cadets" of the West India Company, from the adjacent fort, — bumptious young fellows from all parts of Northern Europe, who caroused and brawled at the tavern when off duty, and who not infrequently paid for their pranks by "riding the wooden horse," and by other military punishments. Here, too, when now and then a French privateer came into port, the French sailors were wont to resort, to negotiate for the discounting of their prize money, or for forwarding it home; for Philip seems to have been a man of considerable business capacity, and besides his own language was acquainted with both Dutch and English, occasionally performing the duties of an interpreter.

It was not all cakes and beer at the sign of the White Horse, however. In 1644, part of a shipment of wine, the whereabouts of which became a subject of investigation by the authorities, was shown to have found its way to Philip Geraerdy's cellar; and here, too, men of more consideration than the general run of his customers occasionally resorted, such, for instance, as Jan Damen, the thrifty farmer just out of town, whose well-managed farm lay in part between the present Maiden Lane and Wall Street. Philip duly appreciated such clients, and when Jan Damen became unsteady upon his legs, would obligingly see him home when the road was dark. He did this upon one occasion, to his great inconvenience, as he tells. It was a very dark night in the spring of 1643, when they reached Jan Damen's farmhouse, not far from the

present Pine Street. That individual seems to have been in a rather quarrelsome mood, for Geraerdy had taken the precaution to draw his guest's sword from its scabbard and to carry it himself. At the house they found Jan Damen's serving-man in a very unamiable temper at being waked between twelve and one o'clock, and he threatened to shoot his employer. "Finally," says Philip, "the above Damen and his servant Direk began to fight, the man having a knife, and Jan Damen a scabbard, over which Jan Damen fell backwards, deponent having his drawn sword in his hand for the purpose of separating them. Jan Damen stood up and jumped into the house; he returned immediately with a knife, and as it was very dark, Jan Damen struck deponent under the shoulder-blade," etc. — the surgeon declared it to be a pretty dangerous wound.

The White Horse tavern appears to have been a pretty orderly place, upon the whole, but now and then an affray would occur there to enliven the town; upon one of these occasions, the majesty of the Worshipful West India Company was seriously affronted in the person of Hendrick van Dyke, the ensign of its garrison, who was afterwards "fiscal," or prosecuting attorney of the colony. His assailant was an individual rather obscurely spoken of as "Black John," who, as it would seem from his remarks, had come from the seaport of Monnikendam, a few miles from Amsterdam on the Zuyder Zee. Surgeon Van der Bogaerdt of the Company describes the courtly flow of compliments between the actors in the affair, and its unexpected ending. He says that "being at the house of Philip Geraerdy, he heard Black John say to Ensign Van Dyk: 'Brother, my service to you!' to which the ensign answered, 'Brother, I thank you.' Instead of handing over the can, Black John struck the ensign with the can on the forehead, so that the blood flowed, saying that is his Monnikendam fashion, and then threw the ensign over on his back; — and all this happened without their having any dispute or words with each other."

Philip Geraerdy thrived in his calling, and within ten or twelve years from the erection of the little tavern upon the

corner, he had built a new house for his own residence, in his garden, and some fifty or sixty feet down Stone Street.¹ By that time, indeed, he may have rented out his tavern, for in 1653, upon occasion of aiding in a loan to the magistrates to build the palisades at Wall Street, he is described as a "trader," — which usually indicated a person who was doing a little bartering with the Indians. He seems, moreover, to have turned his thoughts towards acquiring a bouwery upon Long Island, for in that same year 1653 he received (likely enough, in consideration for his loan) a grant of some fifty acres of fine woodland, sloping down gently to the shore of the East River, a short distance north of the present Astoria. His plans, whatever they may have been, were never realized, for he died in 1655. His widow soon married Matthew de Vos, a very respectable notary of the colony. Philip left a young son, Jean or Jan Geraerdy, to whom his stepfather appears to have been a careful guardian. They resided for a number of years upon the premises in Stone Street, but after his mother's death, Jean Geraerdy sold the property, and in 1676 appears, in an instrument then executed by him, to have been a resident of Rhode Island. Curiously enough, one may see his name, at the present day, in the Italianized form of Gerhardi, in immediate proximity to its original location in New Amsterdam.

¹ This building appears to have been of brick, and was apparently one of the best in New Amsterdam, for it was sold at public auction on the 9th of December, 1672, to Captain Thomas Delavall, for 5195 florins, or about at the equivalent of \$2100 of the present currency, — a large price considering the value of money at the time, and the ruling prices for real estate. Delavall soon sold the property to John Ryder, another Englishman, from whom it was purchased in 1680 by Frederick Phillipse, Lord of the Manor of Phillipsburgh in Westchester County, who owned much other property in this vicinity. The house was undoubtedly built about 1653, in which year Frans Jansen, the carpenter, sued Geraerdy for the work done, a claim which the latter resisted on the ground that the contract for work on the garret portion of the building "has been most scandalously fulfilled."

CHAPTER II

WINCKEL STRAET, AND THE HOUSE OF DOMINIE BOGARDUS.—THE WEST INDIA COMPANY'S STOREHOUSE.—SCHREYERS HOEK

Wat hier leeft en oyt vergaderd
Heeft zijn uur en stervens-tijd :
Wat hier (door verselling) naderd
Ook een droevig-scheijden leijd :
Wat in vriendschap is verbonden,
Door verkiesing, boven 't bloed
Word te recht wel noyt geschonden ;
't Bij-zijn nochtans breken moet.

JACOB STEENDAM : "Den Distelvink."

THE lounge, smoking his pipe of a summer evening upon the wooden bench in front of the White Horse tavern, at the period of which we have been speaking, — about the year 1655, — looking across Brouwer or Stone Street, would have seen a row of five small houses, with their gable ends to the Marckveldt, or Whitehall Street, and occupying the entire front between Stone and Bridge streets, now covered by the Kemble Office building. These houses did not front upon the Marckveldt, but upon a small lane parallel with it, and only twenty-two feet in width, which was known as Winckel Straet. At the back of the houses were small gardens or enclosures, which opened out into the Marckveldt. These buildings seem to have been erected about the years 1645–46, and not improbably by the West India Company itself. Allusion has already been made to the Company's row of stone shops which extended from Stone to Bridge Street, and which was intended to face the broad esplanade of the fort. After the Indian troubles had broken out, in 1643, there was for a time a desire on the part

of some of the colonists to acquire building sites under the immediate shelter of the fort; in order to accommodate them as far as possible, the Company, among various other provisions for their aid, determined to appropriate a portion of the esplanade for building purposes. The narrow Winckel Straet was therefore laid out along the front of the Company's shops; and upon the west side of the new street or lane were built the houses referred to.

At the period of our survey, the two northernmost of these houses were owned, as to the one next to Stone Street, by Hendrick Jansen, a baker; the other belonged to Maximilian van Geele, a merchant of Amsterdam, who seems to have used it as a temporary residence in the Colony. The two southernmost houses belonged, the one to a certain Caspar Stymetz (some years afterwards it became of interest as then belonging to the English Governor, Colonel Lovelace, and, as so belonging, having been plundered and confiscated by the Dutch when they recaptured New Amsterdam in 1673); the house at the corner of Bridge Street was owned by an Englishman, George Holmes, the proprietor of the solitary tobacco farm at Deutel, or "Turtle" Bay, on the East River, who, like many others of the farmers at this time, had a residence within the town.

The middle house of this row, however, is of more general interest, as having been the last place of residence in New Amsterdam of Dominie Everardus Bogardus, usually spoken of (though not with strict accuracy) as the first minister of the Dutch church at the settlement.

It is the fortune of Dominie Bogardus that his name shines with a somewhat reflected lustre from that of his wife, Annetje Janse, of wide reputation, — the energetic lady from whom so large a portion of the population of New York and vicinity claims descent, as shown in the various Trinity Church litigations.

From the upper windows of his house, looking out over the Marckveldt, Dominie Bogardus could probably have seen, across the southeastern bastion of Fort Amsterdam, the roof

of the cottage in Pearl Street of his respected mother-in-law, Catharine or "Tryn" Jonas. This lady had long occupied a responsible position under the West India Company, no less, in fact, than that of its official midwife, — the thrifty corporation going so far as to make this provision for the welfare of its colonists. Tryn Jonas was duly sensible of the dignity and importance of her office, which she exercised with great independence, even to the extent of refusing upon various occasions to attend certain of her patients with whose antecedents she was not satisfied. Her daughter Annetje was married, as early as 1626, and several years before leaving Holland, to Roeloff Jansen, who came from the valley of the Meuse, not far from where the crowded spires of Maestricht looked over the complicated girdle of bastions and ravelins and lunettes and hornworks which encompassed that famed fortress.

Reaching the Colony in 1630, Roeloff Jansen and his wife repaired at first to Fort Orange, or Albany, where, in addition to his employment as an agricultural foreman to the patroon Van Rensselaer, he appears to have entered upon a trading business with the Indians, and it was in the course of his expeditions in this latter capacity that his name was given to the beautiful stream in Columbia County, which still, between solitary overhanging woods, ripples as merrily over its thick bed of pebbles as when it was first named Roeloff Jansen's Kill.

Prior to 1636, however, Roeloff Jansen had taken up his residence in New Amsterdam, and acquired a tract of about sixty acres along the North River, where it formed a sort of peninsula between the river and the swamps which then covered the sites of Canal Street and West Broadway. Here he had probably erected a small farmhouse upon a low hill near the river shore at about the present Jay Street; but he had hardly made a beginning in the work of getting his bouwery under cultivation when he died, leaving to his widow Annetje the arduous task of caring for a family of five small children, in a colony hardly settled as yet.

In 1633, the Reverend Everardus Bogardus had been sent over to succeed the somewhat interrupted and broken ministry of Dominie Jonas Michaelis. A new though rather homely church had been built for him upon the East River shore, or upon the present Pearl Street, between Whitehall and Broad streets, and adjoining it was the parsonage. The Dominie was an unmarried man, and lived in solitary state at the parsonage for several years, drawing his rations from the West India Company, like the rest of its officials and employés, — till 1638, when he married the widow Annetje Janse (or Roeloffse, as she is called, indifferently, following the Dutch fashion), after a marriage settlement which is still extant had been drawn up, providing for the securing to her first husband's children the sum of 200 guilders each.

Thus, in addition to his clerical duties, the Dominie assumed the cares of a landed proprietor, not only with regard to the North River farm, — which soon became known as "the Dominie's Bouwery," — but also as to another and less convenient tract which he and his wife had acquired. This was situated some three or four miles up the East River, where, at the mouth of the Mespat Kill, two or three low hillocks of ground rose out of the surrounding marshes, then much sought for on account of their supply of salt hay for the cattle. This tract, which covered about one hundred and thirty acres of upland and meadow, the Dominie had leased out as early as the summer of 1642, though no house was erected upon it as yet. The locality, which, graded down to a few feet above the water level, is now occupied by the dismal suburb sometimes called Hunter's Point, soon acquired the name of "Dominie's Hoek," and has been constantly confounded by writers upon New Amsterdam with the North River bouwery, some of them going so far, in order to make it fit in with their theories, as to supply the name of Mespat Kill to the sluggish little rill flowing through the swamps along Canal Street.

In the year 1642 it was determined to build a new and

substantial church within the walls of the fort. The motives for this change of location are undoubtedly to be found in the apprehension of Indian troubles, too well justified by the event. The new church proceeded rather slowly in building, but within two or three years services were held in it in its unfinished condition. The old church and the parsonage were then converted to other uses, and Dominie Bogardus appears to have purchased for himself the new house on the Winckel Straet to which reference has been made.

Here the Dominie spent the closing years of his ministry. His riding mare duly saddled and bridled, and brought down from the North River bouwery, where her pasturage was provided for with great care in the lease to the tenants, was probably a familiar sight in the Marckveldt, as she stood at her owner's back gate (just on the spot where the main entrance now is to the Kemble Building), waiting for him to set out on his pastoral visits about the town, and to a number of rude farmhouses in their half-cleared bouwerijs, for two or three miles up the island.

A good deal of the life of the little community centred around the house of Dominie Bogardus; on the opposite side of the Winckel Straet was the noise and stir of the workmen in the Company's shops; on the other side of his house was the Marckveldt, where the country people came with their butter and eggs and poultry and vegetables, and now and then an Indian was to be seen with game or fish. A little beyond, on the right, where Bowling Green now is, the soldiers of the garrison held their drills, or lounged the time away on pleasant days when off duty. A little more than a block away, down the Marckveldt, to the left, was the shore of the East River and the small public dock with its crane for hoisting merchandise to or from the lighters, and, lying at anchor beyond, could generally be seen the vessels in port.

Between the Dominie's house and the shore was a building which seems to have occupied most of the Marckveldt front

on the east side, between Bridge and Pearl streets. This was the storehouse of the West India Company; its exact site is uncertain, but it must have stood upon ground now embraced in Whitehall Street, for in the grant, in 1646, by Director Kieft to Doctor Hans Kiersted, of the lot which is known to have been the present northeast corner of Pearl and Whitehall streets, it is described as having to the west "the Company's Warehouse on the Strand." The edifice can be readily distinguished in the Justus Danckers' View of New Amsterdam, forming the frontispiece of this work. A building for this purpose, and upon this site, was probably one of the earliest erected by the Company; and as such a structure would naturally be of a substantial character, we are led to infer that the first building must have been burned or accidentally destroyed, for in a report made in 1638 it is stated that "the place where the public store stood can with difficulty be discovered." It must have been rebuilt soon after 1638, however, for in 1640, many complaints of overcharges having been made by the people, the Council ordered that a board containing the prices current should be kept in a conspicuous position at the store. This building, however, seems to have ceased to be used for store or warehouse purposes soon after the advent of Director-General Stuyvesant, when a new and larger structure appears to have been erected as a public store, or "pack-huys," — and used at the same time by the government as a custom-house. This latter building, of which further notice will be taken,¹ stood upon the north side of Pearl Street a short distance east of the old storehouse.

The architecture of the old building was of the simplest character, and the purposes for which it was used in its later years are not known; it was in all probability removed within a short period as an obstruction to the thoroughfare of the Marckveldt.

To the right or west of the Marckveldt, and a short distance beyond where it terminated upon the shore of the East River, was a low bank of land projecting out to a point the

¹ See page 52, *post*.



SCHREYERS HOEK TOREN, AMSTERDAM.
From Wagenaar's "Amsterdam."



site of which is now in the Battery Park, a short distance north of the Staten Island Ferry-house. This was the Capske, — the “cape,” or “point,” — being the southern termination of Manhattan Island; but it was more generally known in Dominie Bogardus’s time as “Schreyers Hoek.”

The sojourner at Amsterdam, strolling down one of the lines of street bordering the broad stream of the Amstel as it winds through that city, comes out upon a point of land projecting a short distance into the harbor, at the right of the river’s mouth. Near it stands a venerable old battlemented tower of stone, with its roof thrown up into a high conical peak of curious form. Here, in the seventeenth century, the Dutch emigrants and their families usually embarked in small boats to reach the East Indiamen or other vessels which lay in the harbor, a short distance out beyond the curving double line of “booms” near the shore. Here, too, their relatives and friends were wont to assemble to take their last leave of those who were bound for the uttermost parts of the globe, — for Ceylon and Batavia, for Brazil and New Netherland, — and whom in most cases they never expected to see again upon earth. From the natural scenes of grief displayed upon these occasions, the locality acquired the name of Schreyers Hoek, “the Weepers’ Point,” and the tower still retains the name of Schreyers Hoek Tooren. Amsterdam influences prevailed in New Netherland, and the point of land near the public dock, on which the people of New Amsterdam were accustomed to gather upon the important occasion of the sailing of a vessel for Holland, to wave their farewells to friends returning to the old country, naturally acquired the name of the similarly situated locality at Amsterdam, just referred to, and became known also as Schreyers Hoek.

Upon this point of land was to have been seen, a short time prior to the period of our survey, in 1655, a deserted cabin, and near it, upon the shore, was drawn up a warped and decaying catboat. These were the property of one Thomas Baxter, an Englishman who, falling out with the Dutch authorities, had abandoned his possessions here and taken

refuge in New England, where, upon occasion of the war between the English Commonwealth and the Netherlands in 1653, he took out so-called letters of marque from the little Colony of Rhode Island, which asserted thus early its dignity. With a small armed vessel he pestered the Dutch greatly, and captured two or three of their ships. His property on the Schreyers Hoek was confiscated, and upon its site, greatly raised by filling in, was built Director-General Stuyvesant's residence, which afterwards became known as "The White Hall," part of the ground of which is now occupied by the large and somewhat antiquated-looking brick building at the corner of State and Whitehall streets. There are some reasons to suspect that this name was derived from the old palace of Whitehall at Westminster, at that time in its last days, and that it was given rather derisively by the English to Director-General Stuyvesant's not very imposing mansion.

CHAPTER III

THE WEST INDIA COMPANY AND ITS COLONIAL OFFICERS.—THE QUARREL BETWEEN DIRECTOR KIEFT AND DOMINIE BOGARDUS.—THE WRECK OF THE “PRINCESS”

Who holds the reins upon you ?
The latest gale set free.
What meat is in your mangers ?
The glut of all the sea.
'Twixt tide and tide's returning
Great store of newly dead, —
The bones of those that faced us,
And the hearts of those that fled.

KIPLING : “ White Horses.”

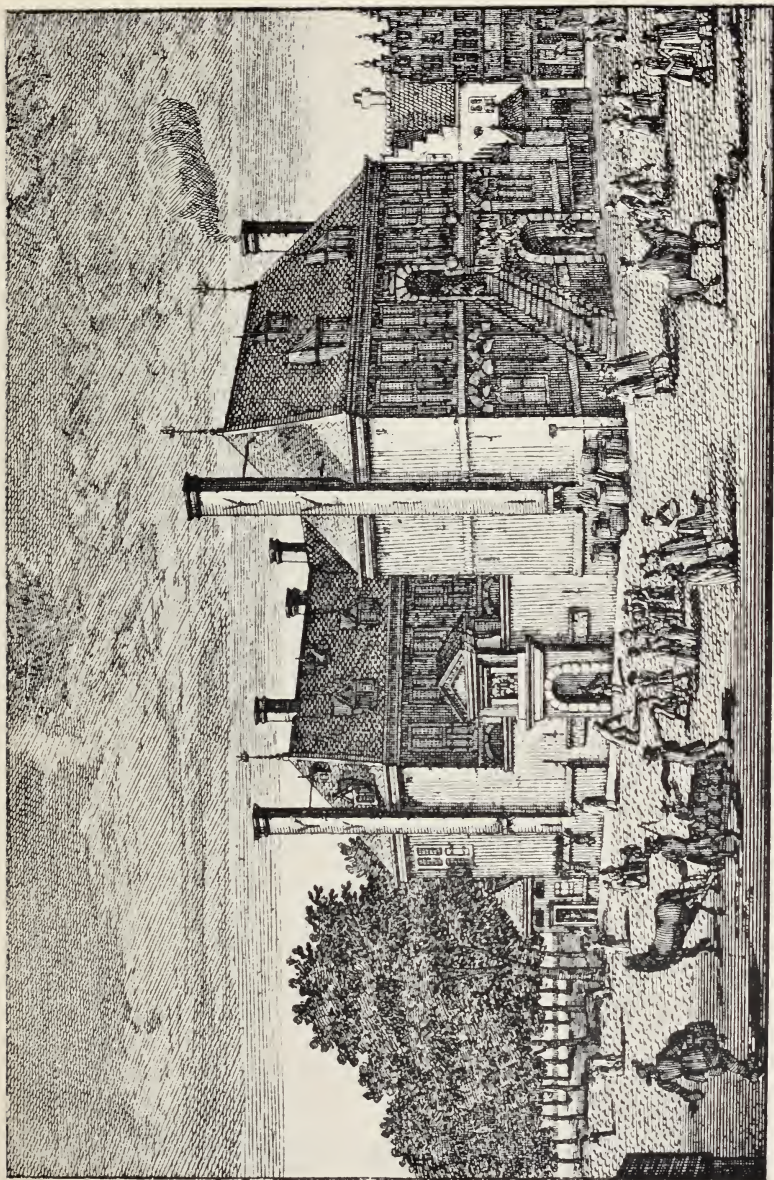
NO sketch of Dominie Bogardus would be complete without some reference to the disputes between him and the Director Kieft, which occupied the closing years of the Dominie's ministry at New Amsterdam.

The Dutch West India Company, which at one time gave promise of becoming one of the greatest trading corporations ever organized, — which as early as 1626 had a fleet of seventy-three vessels, many of them armed, at its disposal; and which claimed or actually occupied, not only the vast territories of Brazil, but immense tracts of land upon the coasts of Africa, besides New Netherland, and its possessions in the West Indies, — was frequently unfortunate in the administrative officers of its colonies. These men, usually advanced through various gradations from clerks' desks in the historic buildings upon the Haerlemmer Straet and on the Y-Graft, in Amsterdam, which were successively the headquarters of the West India Company, were often entirely lacking in the qualities essential to a successful magistracy.

Relieved from the personal supervision of the general officers of the Company, and with extensive powers conferred upon them over the new settlers, they became veritable Sancho Panzas in the colonies. Of these, perhaps the worst specimen was Willem Kieft, Director-General at New Amsterdam from 1638 to 1647.

It is somewhat difficult to describe the character of this man, or to decide which was its leading trait, — his hypocrisy, his self-importance, his administrative incapacity, or the rancorous venom of his disposition towards his opponents. He had, in fact, all of the offensive qualities of his successor, Director Stuyvesant, without the tenacity of purpose and will of the latter. He was perhaps more thoroughly hated and despised by all classes of the community than any other inhabitant of New Netherland. Moreover, he was as sensitive to criticism upon his official acts as are most small-minded men placed in positions of considerable power, and, like such individuals, he was prone to look upon the least animadversion upon his conduct, or upon any doubts expressed in relation to the wisdom of his administrative policy, as “treason” of the most glaring description.

The motives which impelled Kieft to order the cruel massacre of the Weckquaskeek Indians, in 1643, are not fully known, but seem to have been, in considerable measure, owing to a desire of obtaining easy possession of the lands occupied by them. That tribe, fleeing before a raid of their dreaded enemies, the Mohawks of the north, abandoned their village on the Hudson River near the present Hastings, in Westchester County, and came in the depth of winter to Manhattan Island, and to Pavonia on the west side of the Hudson River, where they encamped in a very destitute and starving condition. Their pitiable plight excited the commiseration of many of the Dutch, who furnished them with food. Not so with Kieft, however; to him it appeared only as a good opportunity, prepared by Providence, to make the savages “wipe their chops,” — as he feelingly expressed it, — to settle up old scores, and by exterminating the Indians



THE WEST INDIA COMPANY'S HOUSE, HAARLEMME STRAAT, AMSTERDAM, 1623-1647.

From a print engraved in 1693.

to facilitate the expansion of the Colony; and his famous order was issued accordingly:—

“February 25th, 1643. We authorize Maryn Andriessen, at his request, with his associates to attack a party of savages skulking behind Corlaers Hook or plantation, and act with them in such a manner as they shall deem proper and the time and opportunity will permit. Sergeant Rodolf is commanded to take a troop of soldiers and lead them to Pavonia, there to drive away and destroy the savages lying near Jan Evertsen's, but to spare as much as possible their wives and children and take them prisoners. Hans Stein, who is well acquainted with the haunts of the Indians, is to go with him. The exploit should be executed at night with the greatest caution and prudence. God bless the expedition!”

Captain David de Vries, sitting by the fire in the Director's kitchen at the fort that cold winter's night, and anxiously awaiting the results of the “exploit,” to which he was violently opposed, tells the rest:—

“At midnight I heard loud shrieks, and went out to the parapet of the fort and looked towards Pavonia. I saw nothing but the flashing of the guns. I heard no more the cries of the Indians.”

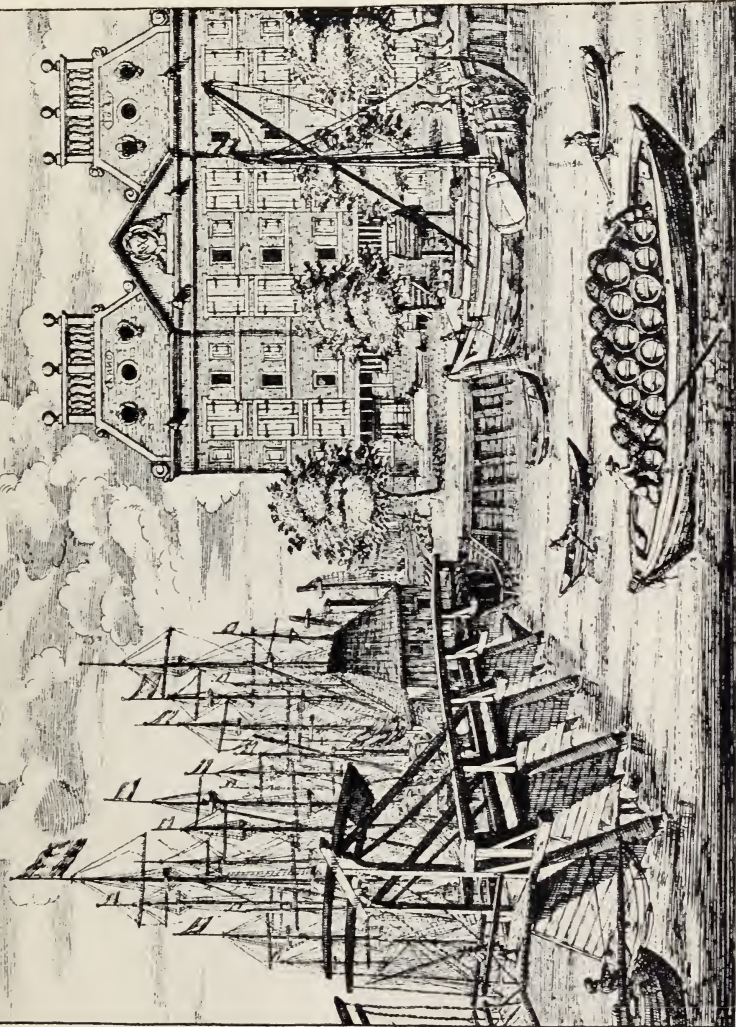
More than a hundred Indians—men, women, and children—were killed by these two parties; they were merely butchered in cold blood, for they were completely taken by surprise,—even to the extent of imagining at first that they were assailed by their enemies, the Mohawks; and they made scarcely any resistance. “No barbarity,” says Valentine, “was too shocking to be inflicted upon them.”

The natural consequences of such an act as this followed swiftly. Most of the outlying farms around New Amsterdam were devastated, and the settlers slain or carried into captivity, by the enraged Indians. There were but few of the inhabitants of New Netherland who did not severely suffer, either directly or indirectly, by this foolhardy and cruel policy of Kieft, and he and his advisers were bitterly attacked by all classes of the community in consequence.

Among the most outspoken of their antagonists was Dominie Bogardus, who, as Valentine says, "fulminated against them in the pulpit until he fairly drove them out of the congregation."

There is considerable evidence that the Dominie was of a rather convivial disposition, though it is not to be believed that he was guilty of anything like the excesses with which Kieft afterwards charged him. It was at the wedding of Magdalena Verdon to Adam Brouwer, a young soldier from Cologne, in the employ of the West India Company, on March 21, 1645, that the Dominie made some public remarks of a rather personal nature respecting Kieft, which seem to have induced that individual to open fire, as it were, upon his reverend opponent. Two days afterwards, accordingly, he sent the clergyman what he calls "a Christian admonition," — which the latter declined to receive, and proceeded with his denunciations of Kieft and his policy. At last, on the 2d of January, 1646, Kieft issued his final and celebrated manifesto, beginning in the imposing form: "In the name of the Lord, Amen! The Honorable Director and Council, to the Reverend Everardus Bogardus, Minister of the Gospel in this place." Though couched in this official form, the whole proceeding is transparently the work of Kieft personally. As his grievances consisted, in large measure, in Dominie Bogardus's public criticisms upon his administrative acts, he opens his manifesto, with fine relevancy, by attacking the Dominie's personal habits, critically distinguishing the acts which he had done, for the six or seven years preceding, when "pretty drunk," from those performed when "thoroughly drunk." He then proceeds to animadvert upon Dominie Bogardus's conduct in regard to certain matters of church discipline, about which Kieft had as much concern as the drummer of the garrison. Gradually getting to the gist of the matter, he reminds the clergyman of his remarks in a sermon preached by him a short time before, in which he had alluded to certain monsters of the tropics, — "but you know not, said you, from whence, in such a temperate clime as

WEST INDIS HUYS



THE WEST INDIA COMPANY'S WAREHOUSE. BUILT IN 1641.

As seen from the Oude Schans, Amsterdam. The meetings of the Company were held here from 1647 to 1674.

this, such monsters of men are produced. They are the mighty ones who place their confidence in men, and not in the Lord! Children might have told to whom you alluded." Having thus shown how aptly he felt these remarks, as well as certain others of which he complained, to have applied to himself, the Director proceeds to business: "All these things being regarded by us as having a tendency towards the general ruin of the country, both Church and State being endangered where the magistrate is despised, and it being considered that your duty and oath imperatively demand their proper maintenance; whereas your conduct stirs up the people (already too much divided) to mutiny and rebellion, . . . our sacred duty demanded that we seek out a remedy against this evil; and this remedy we now intend to employ, in virtue of our high commission from the Company, and we design to prosecute you in a court of justice; and to do it in due form we made an order that a copy of these our deliberations should be delivered to you to answer in fourteen days, protesting that we intend to treat you with such Christian lenity as our conscience and the welfare of State and Church shall in any way permit."

The papers presenting Dominie Bogardus's side of this controversy have all perished, but it is very evident that he stoutly maintained his ground, and goaded his small-minded antagonist into a state of fury with each successive rejoinder he made. He lost no time in replying to the document above set forth, by a communication which Kieft characterized as "useless and absurd, as not answering in any respect the charges conveyed to said Bogardus on the 2d January, 1646. Wherefore it is decreed that said Bogardus shall, within the time limited, answer precisely the contents of that paper in an affirmative or negative manner, under penalty that action be taken against him as a rebel and contumax."

Dominie Bogardus soon sent in a further reply to the Director which was still less to his liking than the former one, for upon the 18th of January, 1646, he caused an entry to be made in the Council Minutes, in which he characterized

"a certain paper of Reverend Bogardus," sent to him by that gentleman through the court messenger, as "filled with useless subterfuges, calumnies, and injuries, besides with a profanation of God's holy word, and designed to vilify His magistrates, of which said Reverend Bogardus, according to his custom, makes use to obscure the truth, and not at all answering our griefs and charges."

This paper warfare of legal threats on the one hand, and of apparent denunciation and defiance on the other, was kept up for several months; Dominie Bogardus evidently denying the jurisdiction of the Director and his Council to try the cause against him, and Kieft being apparently not sure of his ground, and living in the constant fear of afterclaps from the home government. In the mean time the Dominie was harassed by a sort of flank attack in the shape of a suit for slander brought against him by Oloff Stevensen van Cortlandt, a deacon of his church and a prominent citizen of New Amsterdam. This latter proceeding, however, was not so much the work of Oloff Stevensen as of Kieft himself, —

"Iago hurt him,
Iago set him on," —

and finally, by the mutual good offices of several of the leading men of the community, a reconciliation was brought about between the Dominie and his deacon.

During the spring and summer of 1646, the Dominie and the Director-General, looking across the Marckveldt, might perhaps have often seen one another sitting at their open windows upon fine days, engaged in writing their mutual diatribes; but with the latter period came a change, for it was known then that Kieft's official days were numbered, and that a new Director and Council were to be appointed. The prosecution of Dominie Bogardus seems to have remained in abeyance for a time, and to have finally taken the form of charges preferred against him to the Classis of Amsterdam, but of their precise nature we are ignorant.

The latter part of the summer of 1647 was a period of much activity in New Amsterdam. Out in the East River, a little way from the shore, the ship "Princess" lay at anchor, soon to sail for Amsterdam with a heavy passenger list. Kieft and one or two of his late advisers were to return to the Netherlands with the formidable task before them of explaining to the Directors of the West India Company the justice and expediency of his recent measures with the Indians. He had succeeded, at the first coming of Director-General Stuyvesant, in poisoning the mind of the latter against several of his, Kieft's, principal opponents, and two or three of them had been heavily fined and banished from the Colony; in this number were Captain Jochem Pietersen Kuyter and Cornelis Melyn, — two able and determined men, of whom further notice will be taken hereafter; they were now making ready for the voyage, with all their detestation of Kieft transferred to his successor, and fully prepared to renew the battle before the States-General. With them and in close sympathy, went Dominie Bogardus to meet Kieft's charges before the ecclesiastical tribunal. Among the passengers, too, was Hendrick Jansen, a tailor, whose coarse but vigorous denunciations of Kieft had stirred up the latter to procure his banishment also. Besides these there were merchants and traders returning to buy goods at Amsterdam, among whom was Simon Dircksen Pos, one of the pioneer Indian traders in New Netherland. Several of the servants of the West India Company, whose terms of employment had expired, were also among the passengers, as were also some of the colonists, who, their properties having been destroyed during the Indian troubles, had given up the struggle and were now only anxious to get back with their families to the old country.

Many of these passengers were intrusted with various commissions by their friends remaining behind, and the Secretary of the Colony was kept unusually busy in registering powers of attorney or "procurations" to collect debts, to receive legacies, to make purchases, to settle litigations, and to transact other similar business in various parts of

Europe. Along the water-side the porters of the Company were actively employed in transferring bales of furs and of tobacco, with other articles of freight, from the Company's pack-huys, to the little dock near the foot of the present Whitehall Street, and thence by lighter to the "Princess." Among the articles shipped, too, was the wonderful white beaver-skin tipped with yellow; this sport of nature had been brought in by an Indian, and was now sent over to the Netherlands as an unheard of rarity. There was also Kieft's collection, made for the West India Company, of about a hundred specimens of the minerals of New Netherland, conspicuous among which were the various pieces of pyrites which he had obtained to the west of Hudson River, and which he believed to contain gold. Much more valuable than these was a number of "very exact maps and accounts of New Netherland," which would have been now of almost priceless value.

Finally, when the last chests and packages were shipped and the last passengers had gone on board, the ship's anchor was weighed amidst the ringing of the church bells and the firing of cannon from the fort; the last farewells were waved between the passengers on the vessel and the crowd on Schreyers Hoek, and the "Princess" sailed down the harbor on the 17th of August, 1647, long watched from the shore as she receded through the heavily wooded shores of the Narrows. Many weeks passed before any further tidings of her reached New Amsterdam.

On the southern coast of Wales, at the mouth of a broad valley sloping down from the "Black Mountains" of Brecknock and Carmarthen shires, lies the old town of Swansea, upon what is thought by many to be the most beautiful spot upon the coast of the English island. Walter Savage Landor gave it the preference, in an artistic point of view, to the Bay of Naples. Here, looking seaward upon a fine day, over the steely-blue waters of the Bristol Channel, the Exmoor Hills, and beyond them the mountains of Devonshire are seen in the far distance across the broad estuary, where

"Silent, majestic, and slow,
The white ships hover to and fro,
With all their ghostly sails unfurled,
As beings from another world
Haunt the dim confines of existence."

From the town westward the shore of yellow sand curves in a bold, semicircular sweep, not unlike that of the Bay of Naples, and ends in the massive limestone rocks known as "The Mumbles," now crowned by a lighthouse of elegant form. Looking landwards, the valleys stretching inland are seen to be separated by massive spurs of the mountains of Wales, which terminate abruptly above the beach. Here, to many of the passengers and crew of the "Princess," was their journey's end,

"And very sea-mark of their utmost sail."

The captain of the vessel missed his reckoning in a violent September gale, and ran up the Bristol Channel. The ship was thrown upon the rocks near Swansea, and soon went to pieces; of about one hundred persons on board, eighty perished, among whom were Kieft and Dominie Bogardus, — all their dissensions being terminated by the Great Arbitrator.

After the death of her husband, New Amsterdam seems to have become distasteful to Annetje Janse Bogardus, and about the end of 1647 she and her family removed to Fort Orange, or Albany, where she had spent some of her earlier years, and where she purchased a house and garden spot at the northeast corner of Middle Lane (now James Street), and Joncker or the present State Street; here she died in 1663. The Dominie's house on the Winckel Straet and the Marckveldt in New Amsterdam was retained by his family for a number of years; and about the period of our survey, in 1655, it seems to have been occupied by a tenant, Warner Wessells, a man of some prominence in the town who purchased it a year or two afterwards. The quiet street leading up the hill at Albany, upon which Annetje Bogardus dwelt, has now

become a broad and busy thoroughfare, over which the crowds passing to and from the Capitol travel daily, and a bronze tablet upon the Mechanics and Farmers Savings Bank at that place marks the site of her house; but nothing perpetuates the memory of the dwelling in New Amsterdam where she and her husband, calumniated and harassed by their malicious and unscrupulous enemy, passed many dark and stormy hours.¹

¹ It is understood, however, that steps have been very recently taken towards having a commemorative tablet erected upon, or very near to, the site of Dominie Bogardus's house in Whitehall Street.

CHAPTER IV

*"THE FIVE STONE HOUSES."—THE BRUGH STEEGH, OR
BRIDGE LANE.—THE BREWERY OF THE WEST INDIA
COMPANY.—PIETER CORNELISSEN AND HIS GARDEN.
—HENDRICK KIP, THE TAILOR*

ON the east side of the Winckel Straet, to which previous reference has been made, stood five stone buildings, of probably two or three stories in height. These are usually misnamed, by writers upon New Amsterdam, "The Company's Storehouses;" they were, however, in no sense storehouses, except in so far as they may have served to store materials for the work which was carried on there. They were in fact used as workshops for the various branches of labor conducted under the direction of the officers of the West India Company, and seem to have contained the shops of the carpenter, the blacksmith, the cooper, and the armorer of the Company, with probably others, such as those of the tailor, the shoemaker, the hatter, etc., for the garrison and for the other employés of that economical corporation, which aimed at supplying, through its own workmen, most of the wants of its servants. Perhaps the most singular appurtenance of the Five Houses was a goathouse in their rear, which was built in Director Van Twiller's time, as we are informed by an entry in the records, in 1639.

Of the precise date of the erection of these buildings we are ignorant, but it must have been very early, for in 1638 we are told that they were "in need of considerable repair."¹ After the surrender to the English, in 1664, the "Five

¹ These buildings are clearly distinguishable upon the "Hartgers View" of 1628 or 1630, and were probably then just erected. See *ante*, page 2, note.

Houses" were confiscated as the property of the West India Company.¹ Being no longer required for their original purposes, they were put to various uses by the English; among others they were used for a time partly as officers' quarters, and partly as a hospital for the garrison; but becoming dilapidated, they were demolished about the year 1680, and the sites sold. The narrow Winckel Straet was then closed and granted to the owners of the private houses fronting upon it on the west, whose lots had previously been rather short in depth, and were now made to front upon Whitehall Street. The site of the Five Shops of the West India Company is now covered, so far at least as the end towards Stone

¹ Immediately after the surrender to the English in 1664, an attachment was sued out against these houses upon an alleged claim against the West India Company by one George Baxter. Baxter was an Englishman of a rather turbulent disposition who had been for a number of years in the Company's service, and was a lieutenant under the notorious Captain John Underhill. As early as 1641, he had attempted to farm a tract upon Manhattan Island, embracing the site of the present Bellevue Hospital, and forming a part of what was afterwards known as the Kip's Bay Farm. Subsequently he acquired a tract of land near Gravesend upon Long Island. He is understood to have been a brother of Thomas Baxter, whose difficulties with the Dutch Colonial administration and the confiscation of whose property have been previously alluded to (*ante*, p. 19). Influenced by motives apparently not unconnected with his brother's misfortunes, George Baxter, in the beginning of 1655, was instrumental in stirring up considerable resistance to the Dutch authorities at Gravesend. He was promptly arrested and imprisoned at the Town Hall in New Amsterdam, but while thus in prison he prevailed upon one Thomas Greedy, a resident of the newly planted settlement of Middelburg (now Newtown) upon Long Island, to make an attempt, with the aid of a negro man, to drive away his (Baxter's) cattle, which had been seized by the Gravesend magistrates, and were in their custody. For this offence Greedy received a sentence of twelve years' banishment, and the property of Baxter was confiscated. Upon the surrender in 1664, however, Baxter, evidently believing that the English day had come, presented a claim of 1278 florins against the Company for his losses, and attached their houses as above stated. Cornelis van Ruyven, the former Secretary of the Colony, who had been appointed by Governor Nicoll a trustee or receiver of the West India Company's property, appeared before the magistrates, and recapitulated to them Baxter's doings of nearly ten years before. He was roughly interrupted several times by Baxter, who gave him the lie repeatedly in the presence of the court. The tribunal was not very sympathetic, for it not only fined Baxter for contempt of court, but appears to have taken no further notice of his proceedings.

Street is concerned, by what is known as the "Merchants' Building."

The land occupied by the West India Company's shops, between Stone and Bridge streets, seems to have been partly bounded upon the east by a narrow and obscure lane, known as the Brugh Steegh, or "Bridge Lane," which was a cross-way to facilitate communication with the bridge over the small stream which ran through the present Broad Street, and which was probably in use before Brouwer or Stone Street was opened through; it may indeed have been the remains of an earlier plan of streets than the one finally adopted, for there are evidences of its having extended through the present blocks as far north as Beaver Street, and through what was sometimes called the Church Lane (being a narrow passageway lying west of the first church building), south into Pearl Street.¹ This lane crossed the site now occupied by the building known as No. 6 on the south side of Stone Street, and bore off somewhat to the east as it approached Bridge Street. It was about twenty-two English feet in width.

Upon the west side of this lane and extending to within a few feet of Bridge Street, stood a house used at one time apparently as the official residence of the officer known as the fiscal, or public prosecutor, of the colony. In 1647, it being then perhaps no longer used for such purposes, we find

¹ There are, in fact, certain obscure indications presented by the "Hartgers View," and by some of the early records, that the first village consisted of three narrow parallel lanes running north and south, and one — the so-called Beaver Path — running east and west. Of these lanes the easternmost appears to have been the Brugh Steegh; the middle one seems to have occupied the easterly portion of the present Whitehall Street and the Bowling Green, and to have been merely widened upon the west, and thrown into the later Marckveldt; while the westernmost of the lanes, with the buildings upon it, would then have occupied the present Bowling Green, into which it would have been thrown, and its buildings demolished at the time of the construction of the fort and its approaches, 1628-35. As for the Beaver Path, there can be little doubt that it was originally a continuation to the North River shore of the present Beaver Street, and was not, as has been claimed, the present Morris Street. The portion west of Broadway was closed and granted to private parties before 1650.

Director-General Stuyvesant recommending the establishment of a more permanent school than had hitherto existed, and that it should be kept "in the kitchen of the fiscal." After the opening of Stone Street, not long before the date last mentioned, the lane was no longer much needed for public use, and it appears to have fallen into the condition of a mere open passageway. It was not finally closed, however, till 1674, when with other public lands it was used to afford small building sites for several persons, whose houses had been demolished as being too near the fortifications.

Just east of the Brugh Steegh stood the brewery of the West India Company, upon land now occupied in part by an engine-house of the New York Fire Department and in part by the building No. 10 Stone Street. This brewery must have been erected at a very early date, and undoubtedly gave to the street its original appellation of the "Brouwer's Straet." Valentine finds the derivation of the name of this street in the fact that Oloff Stevensen van Cortlandt, who resided upon the north side of the street, nearly opposite to this building, was himself at one time engaged in the business of brewing. It does not appear, however, from the early records that his brewery actually stood upon Stone Street; it seems to have been rather upon the lane known as the Marckveldt Steegh, of which a fragment survives to-day as Marketfield Street; at all events, the brewery of the West India Company must have antedated Van Cortlandt's residence here by at least half a score of years. When Peter Stuyvesant was sent over as Director-General, in 1647, after the ruinous administration of Kieft, he saw that something must be done in the way of raising taxes from the people of New Amsterdam, so as to relieve the West India Company of part of the burden of maintaining the colony. He could think of no better device for this end than by enforcing a stringent excise tax upon wine and beer. In order to carry this out successfully, it would be desirable for the company to discontinue its own brewing operations, and to throw the business into the hands of private parties. This led, without doubt, to

the abandonment of the Company's brewery, and, in 1651, the ground is referred to as being "where the Company's brew-house formerly hath stood." That the building had then been demolished is not necessarily implied, and does not seem to have been the case, for on the rude plan of New York attached to the Nicoll Map, of about 1666, a building of more than ordinary size is shown as occupying this location.

Upon a September day in the year 1637, the yacht "Dolphin" lay at anchor near the mouth of the Texel. Here, amidst the crowd of Dutch men-of-war, or merchant vessels, East Indiamen, Baltic coasters, colliers from Newcastle, and fishing smacks from all parts of the North Sea, which filled that great commercial highway of the Netherlands, leading from the Zuyder Zee out into the German Ocean, the skipper of the "Dolphin" hailed his brother skipper of the "Herring." He was in very poor trim for an ocean voyage to New Amsterdam, to which port he was bound; his vessel was leaking badly; he had no carpenter, and his crew stoutly refused to go to sea without one. Could the skipper of the "Herring" do anything for him? On board of the "Herring" was a young carpenter named Pieter Cornelissen, whom the skipper of his vessel was able to spare; and as he was willing to go, he embarked on board of the "Dolphin" and reached New Amsterdam in safety, after a perilous voyage in which most of the cargo was ruined. He never returned to Europe, but became a denizen of New Amsterdam. It was upon such slight accidental circumstances as these that many of the colonists came to America.

At New Amsterdam, Cornelissen entered the service of the West India Company as a house carpenter, or "timmerman," and thus acquired the appellation which he retained the remainder of his life, of Pieter Cornelissen Timmerman. Looking about him for an available building spot in New Amsterdam, Pieter Cornelissen found, along the south side of the newly laid out Brouwer or Stone Street, a long, narrow strip of vacant ground, extending from the West India Com-

pany's Brewery down to within thirty or forty feet of the present Broad Street. Brugh or Bridge Street, as has previously been stated, was in use as a street for a considerable time before Stone Street was marked out, and the grants of land upon it were so deep that nothing remained afterwards upon the latter street but this strip acquired by Cornelissen, which was only about fifty feet wide at one end, and at the end towards Broad Street not more than twenty feet wide. It seems to have been still further curtailed of its dimensions by a subsequent widening of Brouwer Straet, to the extent of several feet, the Director and Council reserving the right to so widen the "road" in the grant to Cornelissen in 1646. Pieter Cornelissen does not seem to have erected any house upon this property, but he planted it with fruit trees in preparation for doing so. The present locality of the south side of Stone Street, towards Broad, is little suggestive of cherry, peach, and pear trees, yet here they stood in bearing in the year 1651, at which time Cornelissen departed from New Amsterdam, probably under the orders of the Company, for the Dutch settlements on the South or Delaware River. Returning subsequently to New Amsterdam, he rebuilt, after its destruction, in 1655, by the Indians, the mill upon Wessell's Creek, in the late town of Newtown, upon Long Island. This mill site, in a picturesque spot not far from the resort now known as North Beach, was used for its original purposes until comparatively recent years, being of late known as "Jackson's Mill." Pieter Cornelissen did not operate it very long himself, but he purchased land in the immediate neighborhood, and was the ancestor of a worthy family not yet extinct there. Before leaving New Amsterdam, in 1651, he found a purchaser for his property on Brouwer Straet, in the person of Jacob Kip, the son of Hendrick Hendricksen Kip, the latter of whom owned the adjoining property fronting upon Brugh or Bridge Street, where his house stood. Hendrick, the father, who was sometime of Amsterdam, seems to have been one of the earliest settlers in New Amsterdam, and his house here had probably been built for several years previous to his ground brief for the land in 1642.

Hendrick Hendricksen Kip was perhaps one of the most valorous tailors who ever drew needle. If, as Valentine somewhat problematically asserts, his cognomen of "Kip" meant "chicken," it must have referred to a gamecock of the first breed. He pitted himself against the redoubtable Director Kieft at an early period, and never smoothed his ruffled feathers till the latter had departed for the Netherlands upon his recall, even refusing to give him a parting shake of the hand in token of amnesty. It was several years before that event, or about 1643, that Hendrick, according to an officious informer, uttered a witticism of appalling audacity towards his "divinely appointed magistrate" (as Kieft was fond of calling himself), saying that "people ought to send the Kivit" (meaning "pee-wit," or "lap-wing,"—a play at once upon Kieft's name, person, and character) "home by the Pauwe" (peacock), "and also to give a letter of recommendation to Master Gerrit" (the public executioner, or Jack Ketch, of Holland); "he, himself, would willingly send a pound Flemish, in order that he should let him die like a nobleman." This generous offer had reference to the custom in the Germanic countries of inflicting capital punishment upon the nobility by decapitation, and upon the lower classes by hanging—a custom alluded to by Heine in his appeal to the Kaiser Friedrich Rothbart, or Barbarossa, for impartial rule in the "Holy German Empire," upon his future awakening from his legendary slumber:

"Nur manchmal wechse ab und lass
Den Adel hängen, und köpfe
Ein bisschen die Bürger und Bauern, wir sind
Ja alle Gottesgeschöpfe."

Change once in a while, and let the nobleman be hung, and the peasant's head be chopped off. Are we not all alike God's creatures!

CHAPTER V

*HENDRICK KIP AND HIS HOUSE.—THE KIP COTTAGES
ON STONE STREET.—JAN JANSEN VAN ST. OBIN AND
THE SLAVE SHIP “GIDEON”*

Um Christi willen verschone, o Herr,
Das Leben der schwarzen Sünder!
Erzürnten sie dich, so weisst du ja,
Sie sind so dumm wie die Rinder.

Verschone ihr Leben um Christi willn,
Der für uns alle gestorben!
Denn bleiben mir nicht dreihundert Stück,
So ist mein Geschäft verdorben.

HEINE.

IN the last preceding chapter, some allusion was made to the hostility of Hendrick Hendricksen Kip, the tailor of Brugh or Bridge Street, towards Director-General Kieft. So hostile was he, in fact, that he actually refused upon one occasion to give him something which is usually very freely tendered, — being such a cheap gift, — namely, advice. It was after Kieft and his associates had patched up a proposed treaty with the Indians to end the ruinous war which he had brought on the colonists in 1643. The Council, on the 30th of August, 1645, ordered the court messenger to “notify all the inhabitants to assemble in the Fort when the colors are hoisted and the bell rung, to hear the proposals on which a peace is about to be concluded with the Indians, and if any one can give good advice, then to offer it freely.” That worthy made his report to the Council that “all the citizens in the Manhat-tans, from the highest to the lowest, will attend, except one Hendrick Kip, a tailor.”

Although Hendrick seems to have been more fortunate than many others in keeping out of the clutches of Kieft, yet the government had its eye upon him; and when his more indiscreet "huysvrouw" made public statements that "the Director and Council were false judges, and the fiscal a forsworn fiscal," it pounced upon her at once on a charge of a sort of *lèse-majesté*. The good lady stoutly denied the charges, but her husband, with a phenomenal astuteness, appeared before the court and stated that "his wife has been so upset and so out of health ever since Maryn Adriaensen's attempt to murder the Director-General, that when disturbed in the least she knows not what she does." The reference was to the assault attempted upon Kieft, nearly three years before, by one Maryn Adriaensen, in a quarrel about their respective shares of culpability in bringing about the Indian War. The prosecutor and the defendant in the court proceedings were ordered to produce their evidence, but nothing further appears to have been done in the matter, Kieft being soon afterwards recalled.

With his well-known views respecting the imbecility of the late administration in New Netherland, Hendrick Kip was chosen one of the committee known as "The Nine Men," which drew up a remonstrance to the States-General against the policy adopted by the colonial government of the West India Company, and the ruinous results brought thereby upon the colonists. The new Director-General, Peter Stuyvesant, immediately took up the cudgels in behalf of all maligned magistrates, and sent the Secretary Van Tienhoven over to the Netherlands to refute the charges made before the States-General. The "refutation" consisted principally in vilifying the members of the Committee who had dared to sign the remonstrance. "As to losses," said the Secretary, "Hendrick Kip was a tailor, who never lost anything," which in Van Tienhoven's mouth was only another way of saying he had nothing to lose.

This, however, was not true. Kip's worldly condition was doubtless not equal to that of some of the other colonists, but his house, in its garden of about sixty-five feet front upon

Bridge Street, was quietly occupied by him for many years; while upon the land adjoining it on Stone Street, where Pieter Cornelissen had planted his garden (previously described), Hendrick's two sons, Isaac and Jacob, and his son-in-law, Jan Jansen van St. Obin, built houses for themselves. All these houses had a clear outlook upon the East River, and upon the vessels in port (which usually anchored directly in front of them), and to the wooded Long Island shores beyond, — for no houses were built at this point along the river shore at Pearl Street, to intercept the view, prior to 1656. The last buildings upon the shore at that time, coming eastwards from the fort, were the former Dutch church and its parsonage, erected in 1633, the church standing nearly opposite the westerly corner of Hendrick Kip's garden.

It has been already stated that the two sons and the son-in-law of Hendrick Kip had their dwellings upon the south side of Stone Street, in what had previously been Pieter Cornelissen's garden. These were probably small cottages, as the plots of ground upon which they stood were of small size; and they were built just about the period of our survey, in 1655, though the precise dates are uncertain. Their owners were quite young men at the time, and recently married. The easternmost of these houses, which extended within forty or fifty feet of the present Broad Street, was that of Isaac Kip, afterwards a Hudson River trader; and near it on the west was that of his brother Jacob, — the site of both these buildings being now covered by Davidson's Café. Jacob Kip, the second of these brothers, was a man of considerable activity and enterprise. His marriage, in 1654, to Marie de la Montagne, daughter of Doctor Jean (or Johannes, using the Latinized form, by which he was generally known) de la Montagne, seems to have served him in the way of advancement, his wife's father — a French Huguenot, and a man of education — having stood high in the favor of Kieft and of the Directors of the West India Company. As one of the city magistrates, and as Secretary of the Court of Burgomasters, Jacob Kip's bold, business-like signature is familiar in the

old records, and indeed he was a clerk to Director-General Stuyvesant at a still earlier date, in 1650. In later years, he became somewhat of an investor in unimproved or farm lands on Manhattan Island, and about the year 1670 he bought an old "frontier" plantation which had seen many vicissitudes, and there established a farm, to the vicinity of which he gave a name that became historic, the memory of which has not yet entirely faded away; namely, that of "Kip's Bay," on the East River at about Thirty-Fifth to Thirty-Seventh streets.

Jan Jansen, the brother-in-law of the two young Kips, who also occupied a house upon the south side of Stone Street, somewhat to the west of the cottages of the latter, was a person of a rather different disposition. He was undoubtedly of Dutch or of Flemish extraction, and is usually spoken of in the records of the time as Jan Jansen van St. Obin; but in the church record of his marriage in 1649 to Baertje (or Bertha) Hendrickse Kip, his place of nativity is given as "Tübingen," — presumably the city of that name in the Duchy of Würtemberg, in Germany. While there may be grounds for supposing, from the similarity of sound, that the latter designation is a mistake or a corruption of some other name, the locality of "St. Obin" seems to be unknown in Dutch topography. Jan Jansen's father, Jan Wansaer, seems to have been a resident of Casant, not far from Antwerp.

Jan Jansen van St. Obin was a person of nautical proclivities, insomuch that he became a part owner of the small French frigate "La Garce," which sailed as a privateer under letters from the Dutch government. She afterwards got into trouble with the Admiralty about her prizes, but at the time of Jan Jansen's interest in her (for he appears to have sold out his share in 1646) we may presume that she confined her attention strictly to the Spanish and Portuguese craft which were within the line of her legitimate business, though the captains of privateering vessels in this war were sometimes rather obtuse upon such points, and took almost anything that came along. Whether Jan Jansen sailed personally in the privateer is not known, but certain it is that occasionally, about

this time, his business seems to have called him away from New Amsterdam for protracted periods, at which times he had the practice of depositing with various prominent men of New Amsterdam considerable amounts of personal property, taking their receipts for it, which he caused to be promptly entered upon the books of the Secretary of the Colony. Upon one of these occasions, the deposit was of quite a large amount of silver ware, — rather an unusual stock for a New Netherland “trader,” and which leads to the conjecture that it may have been picked up by him somewhere upon the Spanish main, or perhaps in the West Indies. Jan Jansen, however, was not always fortunate in his adventures, for shortly prior to 1654, a bark in which he was then interested was captured — or “stolen,” as the Dutch authorities expressed it — by Thomas Baxter, claiming to act under letters of marque issued at Rhode Island, to which previous allusion has been made. Baxter, who was probably not much hampered by Admiralty rules, promptly disposed of his prize to Thomas Moore of New Haven, but the Dutch government contrived to bring such pressure to bear upon the latter that, together with Isaac Allerton, the leading merchant in the New England trade, at New Amsterdam, he gave a bond for the restoration of the vessel or its value.

Jan Jansen van St.Obin is perhaps most prominently known as the pilot of the slave ship “Gideon,” which arrived at the harbor of New Amsterdam, with a cargo of two hundred and ninety slaves, in August, 1664, a few days before the appearance of the English fleet concerned in the capture of New Netherland. These slaves, Director Stuyvesant wrote, were “a very poor assortment. The females certainly all so poor that we apprehend the largest part of them will remain at our charge, or we must otherwise part with them at a very low price.” The Director-General’s estimate of the condition of these blacks appears to have been a pretty just one, for we afterwards find Johan de Decker (who had been a member of Director Stuyvesant’s Council, but who, having become obnoxious to the new authorities, had been ordered to “within

the space of ten dayes transporte himsele out of this goverment"), presenting a petition from Amsterdam to the Duke of York for the restoration of certain negroes, forming a part of the Gideon's "assortment" which had been seized at New Amsterdam by order of Governor Nicoll. It appears from this document that twenty of these negroes had been allotted to the petitioner by way of settlement of his arrears of salary at New Amsterdam: ten of them he had otherwise disposed of, "having ye other tenne negroes in (now so called) New Yorke in ye custody of one Resolved Waldron to dyett and keep them for your petitioner." The "Gideon" had evidently lacked the master mind of "The supercargo, Mynheer van Koek," of Heine's ballad, who, being distressed by the announcement from the physician of his slave-ship that the negroes were dying upon the passage in great numbers, from melancholy, devised the genial scheme of forcing them by the lash to daily dances to quick music, in order to keep up their spirits and drive dull care away.

Whether Jan Jansen, as pilot of the "Gideon," received his pay in the same commodity as De Decker, we are not informed. He certainly suffered no diminution of respectability in the community of his time by reason of his occupation; furthermore, the gains were large, and that alone would have been quite sufficient with most of his neighbors to smother any inconvenient suggestions that might have arisen: —

"Glass beads, and brandy, and scissors and knives,
And other cheap trash for them giving, —
The profit at least eight hundred per cent,
If I keep the half of them living.
For fetch I three hundred blacks alive
To the port of Rio Janeiro,
'T is a hundred ducats apiece for me,
From the house of Gonzales Perreiro."

If any supersensitive persons were found who ventured to question the right and justice of this traffic, a host of supporters were as ready then as now, with about as much or as little hypocrisy, to show the divinely appointed rights of the

superior race over the inferior, and the law of Destiny which imperatively demanded that the latter should be flogged, as it were, out of darkness into the light.

It is only fair to say, however, that among the Dutch of New Netherland the slave trade exhibited its least repulsive features. No important difficulties occurred between the blacks and their masters in New Amsterdam, nor do the former seem to have been often the subjects of any serious criminal prosecutions. The negroes settled down into house and farm servants; the relations between them and their masters were usually of a somewhat patriarchal nature, manumissions were frequent, and sincere attachment was often manifested on both sides. It was the hysterical English and their Recorder, Horsmanden, who were responsible for the ghastly tragedy of the "Negro Plot" in the next century, and for the fiendish torture of the numerous innocent victims of that insane delusion.

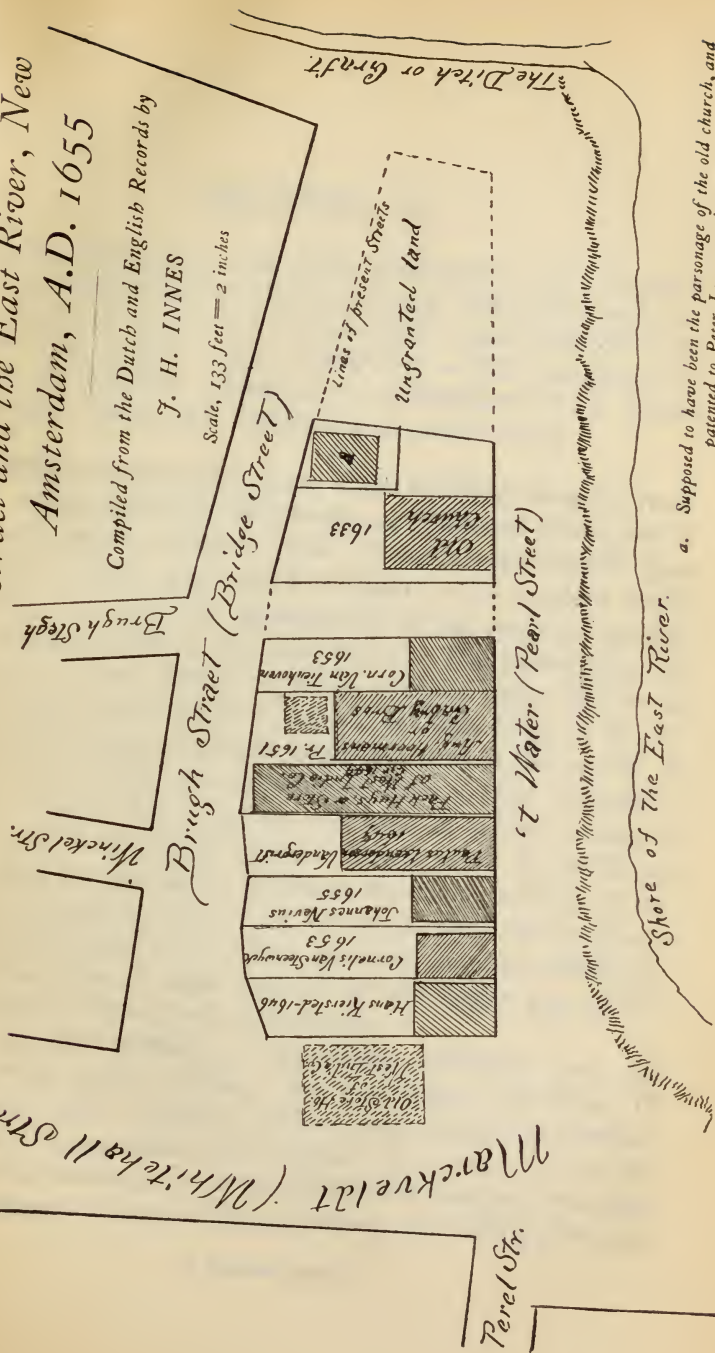
A Plan of the Ground between Brugh Straet and the East River, New Amsterdam, A.D. 1655

Compiled from the Dutch and English Records by

J. H. INNES

Scale, 133 feet = 2 inches

Maerckvelat (Whitehall Street)



a. Supposed to have been the parsonage of the old church, and patented to Peter Lourensen in 1647.

CHAPTER VI

THE WATER-SIDE.—DR. HANS KIERSTED.—THE HOUSES OF CORNELIS VAN STEENWYCK AND JOHANNES NEVIUS.—CAPTAIN PAULUS VANDERGRIFT—THE STOREHOUSE OF THE WEST INDIA COMPANY.—THE WAREHOUSE OF AUGUSTYN HEERMANS.—SECRETARY VAN TIENHOVEN.—THE OLD CHURCH AND PARSONAGE

SOME notice should be taken of the buildings along the river shore, east of the Marckveldt, or Whitehall Street, and of their occupants in the year 1655. These houses fronted upon an open street, then called 't Water, — the modern Pearl Street, — but upon the opposite side of the roadway was the open shingly beach of the East River. The houses here, at the time of our survey, stood in compact order, and were substantially built, most if not all of them being of brick. Though the deeds or ground briefs for most of the parcels of land at this locality were made from 1645 to 1647, it is difficult to believe that they had not been in several instances built upon at an earlier period. Nearly all of the buildings were used for mercantile purposes, the front portions of the structures being probably used as stores, while the occupants availed themselves of the other portions for their dwellings. This place was, in short, the seat of the larger part of the wholesale and retail trade of the town.

Of the first building, in proceeding eastwards from the Marckveldt, which building was the former storehouse of the West India Company, mention has already been made.¹ The next house, which soon became the corner one by the removal of the structure of the West India Company, was long the residence of Doctor Hans Kiersted, the leading physician

¹ See *ante*, page 18.

and surgeon of the town. Hans Kiersted and his brother Jochem (the latter of whom perished in 1647, in the wreck of the "Princess") were Germans from Magdeburg; and as they were early residents of New Amsterdam, there is reason to suspect that they were refugees after the dreadful sack of Magdeburg by Count Tilly's savage troops in the year 1631, at which time Hans Kiersted was about nineteen years of age. He is found, as early as the year 1638, holding the position of official surgeon of the West India Company at New Amsterdam, and the Dutch records contain many of his official certificates given within the next eight or ten years as to wounds received in various affrays by the quarrelsome soldiers of the garrison at Fort Amsterdam.

In 1642, by his marriage to Sarah Roeloffse, Doctor Kiersted became son-in-law to Annetje Janse Bogardus, and within a few years after that event, — as early as 1646, — we find him residing here upon the water-side, where his humble stock of drugs would doubtless have formed a great contrast to that of the modern "pharmacy" which has been established next door to the original site of the trade in New Amsterdam. Before 1648, "Doctor Hans," as he was frequently called, had quitted the service of the West India Company, and was engaged in his own private practice, which seems to have been a reasonably lucrative one, for as early as 1646 he was the owner of a "plantation" upon the Bouwery Lane, about a mile and a half out of the town. Doctor Kiersted died shortly prior to 1667, but fifty years later his property at the corner of Pearl and Whitehall streets was still in the occupation of his descendants.

The next neighbor upon the east of Doctor Hans, in the year 1655, was a man who, though not particularly conspicuous at that time, subsequently became of considerable prominence in the town; this was Cornelis Jacobsen van Steenwyck, formerly of Haerlem in Holland. The period of his coming to New Amsterdam is not known, though he is mentioned as early as 1651, and it appears probable that he was a brother of Abraham Jacobsen van Steenwyck, who is

found at New Amsterdam as early as 1643. Cornelis van Steenwyck was a merchant, and in all probability had his store in this building, which occupied the site of the present No. 27 Pearl Street; it was a modest house, like that of his neighbors on either side, and it had not been built by Van Steenwyck himself, but was purchased by him in 1653 from a Norwegian, Roeloff Jansen Haies, who seems to have been the first owner of the property.

Cornelis van Steenwyck soon became interested in shipping ventures; in 1654 he was a partner with several of the principal men of the town¹ in the ship "Golden Shark," then sent on a voyage to the West Indies, and in the next year we find him, with several others, signing a protest against the action of the Director and Council, who had refused to allow the signers to proceed upon a contemplated voyage to Holland, — for this each of the signers was fined 25 guilders by the despotic Stuyvesant. In spite, however, of differences with the authorities, Van Steenwyck seems to have thrived so well that, in 1663, the Director-General himself had become a borrower on behalf of the needy West India Company from that merchant, who agreed to advance the sum of 12,000 guilders (about \$4800) in wampum, upon a draft on the West India Company, backed up by the curious collateral security of four brass cannon in Fort Amsterdam. He had at this time indeed become one of the leading merchants in New Amsterdam, with a keen eye for profits in almost any direction, handling at one time a cargo of salt, and at another a cargo of negro slaves. His business, at the time of the surrender to the English in 1664, had outgrown his modest store on 't Water, and for several years he had occupied a more elaborate establishment at the corner of the present Bridge and Whitehall streets, just back of the house in which he had dwelt in 1655.

With a fair knowledge of the English language, and with a disposition readily to accept the English rule, Cornelis van

¹ With Paulus Leendertsen van der Grift, Cornelis Schutt, Allard Anthony, and Govert Loockermans.

Steenwyck soon acquired the confidence of the new authorities, and was a member of the Colonial Council under Governors Nicolls and Lovelace. Furthermore, he was popular with the Dutch citizens, was one of the burgomasters of the city both before and after the surrender, and was mayor from 1668 to 1670, and again in 1682 and 1683, shortly before his death. In his latter years Cornelis van Steenwyck, who had long been considered to be a man of wealth, probably kept up as luxurious a style of living as any one in the Colony at that time, but at the period of our survey he was an unmarried man, and his store on 't Water was doubtless not materially different from the ordinary general store of a small trading town.¹

The next neighbor of Cornelis van Steenwyck upon the east, in the year of our survey, was a man who was afterwards of some prominence as notary and Clerk of the Burgomasters, or City Clerk, as he may be called, which office he held as early as 1658, and which he filled for a number of years subsequent to that time. This was Johannes Nevius, who is said to have come from Solen or Zoelen, a village of the district known as The Betuwe, which skirts the south bank of the Rhine below Arnhem, and who was himself, at the period of our survey, one of the city magistrates or schepens, of New Amsterdam, and was a merchant or trader who seems to have been associated in business with his wife's step-father, Cornelis de Potter, a merchant of note in the town.² Looking a mile or so up the East River from his windows upon the water-side, Johannes Nevius could see the dwelling-house and the pastures and grain-fields of his father-in-law's farm just where the Breucklyn Road came down the hill at the present Fulton Street in Brooklyn. Here De Potter had purchased, as early as 1652, from Cornelis Dircksen, the old ferryman, and from one or two

¹ For sketch by Mr. D. T. Valentine, giving many curious particulars of Cornelis van Steenwyck, see *Man. N. Y. Com. Council* for 1864, p. 648.

² In 1654 Nevius and Cornelis de Potter were sued as being jointly indebted for the construction of a vessel called the "New Love."



Corn. Steenwyck

PORTRAIT OF CORNELIS VAN STEENWYCK.

other owners, the ferry property with sixty or seventy acres of land lying north of Fulton Street; and with the curious appurtenance of "thirty-five goats and a half on Jan Marris' farm at Gravesend," — evidently a share or interest in a herd kept there. He does not seem to have managed the ferry in person, but leased it to others.

Ariaentje Bleyck, the wife of Johannes Nevius and step-daughter of Cornelis de Potter, appears by her marriage record in the Dutch Church on Nov. 18, 1653, to have been a native of, or at any rate to have resided at, Batavia, in the island of Java. It was there, in all probability, that her mother, Swantje Janse, married Cornelis de Potter (who was doubtless a widower at the time), since his own daughter Elizabeth, who in the same year of the marriage of her step-sister was united in matrimony to Isaac Bedlo, afterwards a man of note in New Amsterdam, appears likewise in the marriage record as from Batavia.

Johannes Nevius did not long occupy the house on 't Water in New Amsterdam, for in 1658 he sold it to his neighbor Cornelis van Steenwyck. Subsequently the building, which covered the site of the present house, No. 29 Pearl Street, became of interest, as the residence for a long time of Dominie Samuel Drisius, minister of the Dutch Church at New Amsterdam from 1652 to 1671.¹

In the very interesting and important view of New Amsterdam which appears upon the map of Nicolaes Visscher, of about 1652,² as well as in the Justus Danckers view

¹ Johannes Nevius, after the surrender to the English in 1664, found himself greatly hampered in his office of city clerk, by reason of his imperfect knowledge of the English language. After using the services of an English assistant for a time, he appears to have given up his office, and to have devoted his latter years to the management of the ferry establishment belonging to his then deceased father-in-law's estate. There is a bill extant for ferry services performed by Johannes Nevius, which was presented to Secretary Nicolls, of the Colonial Government, in 1676, by the widow of Nevius; she had previously, in 1672, upon her petition setting forth that she was a widow "with six small helpless children," been allowed an extension for six years of her husband's ferry lease.

² Entitled, "*Novi Belgii, Novæque Angliæ necnon partis Virginiae Tabula*

shown in the frontispiece of the present work, three tall buildings fronting the East River shore occupy a conspicuous position. These buildings adjoin one another, and the westernmost of them was only separated by an alleyway from the house of Johannes Nevius, just referred to above. They were all erected, as may be asserted with much positiveness, between the years 1647 and 1651, though the sites of one or two of them may have been occupied by earlier and smaller buildings. The westernmost of the three houses was in 1655 the property of Captain Paulus Leendertsen van der Grift, an old resident of New Amsterdam, who with his brother Jacob is supposed to have come over from Amsterdam to New Netherland a number of years before the date mentioned. Captain Van der Grift was in the service of the West India Company as early as 1644, in which year, at the island of Curaçoa, he was appointed to the command of the ship "Neptune," in which Fortune was not always favorable to him, for his declaration is still extant that in the following year he was driven by stress of weather to the coast of Ireland, where he had to land and to sell a part of his cargo of tobacco consigned to Amsterdam.

Captain Van der Grift appears to have been in considerable favor with Director-General Stuyvesant, who in 1647, at the beginning of his administration, appointed Van der Grift Superintendent of Naval Equipments at New Amsterdam, and one of the City Surveyors; he likewise gave him a seat in the first administrative council under his régime. The Captain, however, did not allow his sense of justice to be

multis in locis Emendata a Nicolo Joannis Visschero." This view, which in its way is a finished production, and almost the only one we possess of New Amsterdam, drawn with a due regard to the rules of perspective, is, there can be little doubt, the work of Augustyn Heermans, whose storehouse forms a conspicuous feature in it. The prominent points of interest in the town are all designated by Dutch inscriptions; and the city tavern, which, in the beginning of the year 1653, became the Town Hall, or "Stadt Huys," and is always spoken of thereafter by that designation, is still called the "Stadts Herbergh," or tavern. In the second edition of Adriaen van der Donck's "*Beschrijving van Nieuw Nederlandt*," in 1656, a rough copy of this view, without the inscriptions, is inserted, whence it has frequently been spoken of as the Van der Donck view. The relations of this view to the one of Justus Danckers have been discussed in an appendix to this volume.

overbalanced by Stuyvesant's favors, and in 1656, being appointed arbitrator with Captain Thomas Willet to dispose of a claim made against the Director-General by one Richard Lord, a merchant of Hartford, for damages for the non-performance of a trading contract, he joined Captain Willet in reporting in favor of a judgment against Stuyvesant for 200 pounds sterling.

As early as 1644, Captain Van der Grift is said to have been in possession of the lot upon 't Water on which his warehouse was afterwards erected, but he only received his formal grant of the land on the 19th of July, 1649, at which date there is reason to believe that the building was completed. There can be little doubt that it is this edifice that is referred to in the historic "Vertoogh," or "Remonstrance," presented to the States-General by Adriaen van der Donck and others, to call attention to the abuses prevailing in the Colony of New Netherland, which document bears date July 28, 1649: "Paulus Lenaertse hath but trifling wages, and yet has built a better dwelling-house here than any other person. How this is done is too deep for us, for though the Director is aware of these things, he nevertheless observes silence when Paulus Lenaertse begins to get excited, which he would not suffer from any other person, and this gives rise to unfavorable surmises." As a man of whom Stuyvesant stood in awe, the choleric Captain must have commanded a high degree of respect in the town.

Of the nature of the business carried on at Captain Van der Grift's warehouse we have not much information. It was, however, for a considerable period the principal shipping office of New Amsterdam at which intelligence was to be had, and arrangements were to be made for freight and passage when vessels were "up for the Netherlands." As the Captain kept up an active life, occasionally himself making voyages, — in 1654 he was commissioned as commander of the ship "Dolphin" for a voyage to the West Indies, — his business at the water-side in New Amsterdam must have been conducted by his agents, but who these were we do not

know. If Captain Van der Grift ever actually resided in this house it was probably for no long period, for at an early date he built a residence upon the North River, west of Broadway, where, in the Indian attack of 1655, he is said to have been severely wounded by a blow from an axe, at the hands of one of the savages.

After the surrender to the English in 1664, Captain Van der Grift was one of the irreconcilables, and in or about the year 1671 he closed out his interests in New York, by the sale of all his real estate to various parties, and returned to the Netherlands. His storehouse on 't Water, above referred to, occupied the site of the present building, No. 31 Pearl Street.

It was apparently a short time prior to the year 1649 that the Director-General and Council decided to build a more spacious and substantial storehouse, or "pack-huys," for the West India Company at New Amsterdam, than it had previously possessed. The building erected in pursuance of this resolution stood next eastward from Captain Van der Grift's warehouse, and was the middle one of the three tall structures previously referred to as appearing upon the Visscher and upon the Justus Danckers views of New Amsterdam. The edifice was probably of brick, and is without doubt the one referred to in a communication written in the year 1649, in which we find the economical Board of Directors of the West India Company, at Amsterdam, censuring the authorities of New Netherland "for building a storehouse, or undertaking the same, one hundred feet long and nineteen feet broad, without knowing precisely what for." This structure was evidently used, in part, at the last-mentioned date as a custom-house; for in "The Petition of the Commonalty" to the home authorities, made in that year, speaking of importations into the Colony, "the cargo," say the petitioners, "is discharged into the Company's warehouse, and there it proceeds so as to be a grief and vexation to behold, for it is all measured anew, un-

packed, thrown about and counted, without either rule or order; besides, the Company's servants bite sharp and carry away."

When, in 1664, New Netherland was surrendered to the English, the pack-huys was confiscated as being the property of the West India Company, and the building became the custom-house of the new administration, for which purpose it was used until the middle of the following century, when, having been negligently allowed by the colonial authorities to fall into disrepair, it came to be considered dangerous, and was presented as a nuisance by the Grand Jury about the year 1750, soon after which it was ordered to be demolished, the Custom-House having been in the mean time removed to the western side of Broadway. The site of this interesting building, the worn threshold of which must have been trodden by nearly every man of prominence in the business and political life of New Amsterdam and of New York in the latter half of the seventeenth and in the first half of the eighteenth century, was the westerly portion of the present large tea warehouse, No. 33 Pearl Street.

The third, or easternmost of the three prominent houses upon the Visscher and Danckers views of New Amsterdam, referred to above, had been built before the year 1651, by Augustyn Heermans, of whom a more extended notice will be given hereafter, in connection with his residence in what was called the Smits Vly. At an early date — certainly as early as 1644, and in all probability for a number of years before that time — Augustyn Heermans had been the agent or factor at New Amsterdam of the mercantile firm of Peter Gabry and Sons, of Amsterdam. No mention is made of the site of the first trading house or store of Heermans, but it is very likely to have been the same spot where afterwards, about 1650, he erected a substantial warehouse, the description of which is still extant. The building was, so we are told, twenty-eight feet broad and sixty-four feet long (about twenty-six by fifty-nine English feet), "with a cellar under

the whole." Its walls were two feet in thickness, and it was "three royal stories high;" that is, three full or high-ceiled stories, not including the lofts under the tall-gabled roof. In the rear it appears to have possessed an out-kitchen, fitting it for a residence as well as for a storehouse. This spacious building seems to have been in part used as a tobacco warehouse, in which trade Heermans was largely interested, for in a petition made by him, in 1658, for permission to make a voyage to the Dutch and French West Indies, he describes himself as "the first beginner of the Virginia tobacco trade." The site of this building is at present covered by the easterly portion of the warehouse, No. 33 Pearl Street, and by the westerly portion of No. 35.

Heermans was also engaged in business adventures of a different nature, for in 1646 we find him, with several other citizens of New Amsterdam, partners in a small privateer called "La Garce," which annoyed the Spaniards a good deal, but which finally made an illegal capture which must have entailed considerable loss upon her owners. It may have been owing to this cause that, in 1651, Augustyn Heermans had fallen into financial difficulties; and upon the 17th of July of that year, he made a conveyance of his warehouse on 't Water to Cornelis van Werckhoven, as curator, or trustee of the estate of Peter Gabry, deceased, the head of the Amsterdam firm of which Heermans was the factor. His other creditors, however, began to press Heermans, and in 1652 he found himself obliged to leave New Amsterdam temporarily, and to make an assignment of his property to his neighbor, Captain Paulus Leendertsen van der Grift, and to Allard Anthony. A settlement, however, was soon made with the creditors, and on the 8th of May, 1653, we find the latter executing an agreement to abide by the valuation which should be placed by arbitrators upon the warehouse which had been previously conveyed in trust for the Gabrys, and which, as it would appear, the creditors claimed had been put in at a figure below its value. The arbitrators accordingly reported that the building was worth 8500

guilders, or about \$3400 of the present currency. No further opposition appears to have been made by the creditors, and Heermans was soon upon his feet again, financially. The warehouse remained in the possession of the Gabrys till the English capture of New Amsterdam, in 1664, when the building, like the pack-huys adjoining, was confiscated on the ground that it belonged to the subjects of a hostile foreign State. A few years afterwards we find it in the occupation of Captain William Dyre, collector of the port of New York. By the Danker and Sluyter view, of 1679, it would appear that prior to that date this building, with the adjoining pack-huys, had been newly fronted, giving the two structures the appearance of one edifice, of considerable size.

The two large modern warehouses, Nos. 33 and 35 Pearl Street, occupy sites around which many interesting associations cluster. In addition to that portion of the buildings upon the site of which stood the edifices already described, the eastern portion of No. 35 Pearl Street was, in 1655, the site of a dwelling-house of little less interest. Here might have been seen daily, passing to and from this house at the period named, or taking his ease upon fine days, at its threshold, in the very rare intervals of his leisure, — for he led a busy life, — a middle-aged man of corpulent habit “with red and bloated visage and light hair.” This was Cornelis van Tienhoven, Secretary of the Council, more particularly identified than any other individual with the history of New Netherland during at least a score of the earlier years of its existence. While little is known about the younger years of this man,¹ we find that he early acquired an influence in the government of New Netherland, which he preserved under such dissimilar administrations as those of Directors Van Twiller, Kieft, and Stuyvesant. This influence he managed to preserve too in spite of many rash

¹ According to Valentine, he was book-keeper of wages for the West India Company, as early as 1633.

and unfortunate schemes, for which he was in large measure responsible, and in spite of the incessant attacks of his enemies, who comprised a large part of the community. His character has been drawn in the "Vertoogh," or "Remonstrance of New Netherland," in 1649, by no friendly hand, but in a manner which seems to be justified by the facts we know of him. "He is," say the authors of this vigorous paper, "crafty, subtle, intelligent, sharp-witted, — good gifts when properly applied. . . . He is a great adept at dissimulation, and even when laughing, intends to bite, and professes the warmest friendship where he hates the deepest. . . . In his words and acts he is loose, false, deceitful, and given to lying: prodigal of promises, and when it comes to performance, there is nobody at home. . . . Now, if the voice of the people be the voice of God, of this man hardly any good can with truth be said, and no evil concealed." It was Cornelis van Tienhoven who shared with Kieft the odium of the Indian War of 1643, as well as of the earlier expedition against the Raritans which resulted in the destruction of the first colonists of Staten Island. Of his flagrant immorality even the sanctimonious Stuyvesant had full knowledge. During his sojourn in the Netherlands in 1650-51, while acting as Stuyvesant's agent to refute the charges made against the colonial government, he almost openly defied the States-General,¹ yet he contrived to remain in apparently undiminished authority at New Amsterdam, defying and harassing his enemies as usual.

At the period of our survey, however, the Secretary's time was growing short, and it was in June of the next year, 1656, that he appeared with apparently undiminished assurance before the burgomasters of the town, and, announcing that he had been dismissed from office, he requested that a formal certificate might be given to him of his efficiency in the office of schout, or sheriff, which he had also held. In the fall of the same year he disappeared from New Amsterdam; some articles of his attire found on the river shore

¹ See *post*, page 119.

induced the belief that he had committed suicide, while many stoutly asserted that he had absconded to get out of the reach of his numerous enemies. There seems to be, however, no reliable evidence that he was ever heard of afterwards; and there would appear to have been little opportunity for a man of such prominence as the ex-Secretary to get away from New Netherland without discovery and to keep himself in complete concealment.

Van Tienhoven's residence on 't Water (which does not appear upon the Visscher view of New Amsterdam of 1651 or 1652) had not been built by the Secretary himself, but probably by one Jacob Haie, from whom Van Tienhoven had bought it in the spring of 1653, the house appearing to have been then recently erected. Next to it, upon the east, lay a vacant lot composed of a part of the then closed Church Lane, — originally a continuation of the Brugh Steegh. This had been granted in the early part of 1647, upon the breaking up of the old church property here, to Oloff Stevensen van Cortlandt, who however did not build upon it, but sold it to Jacob Varrevanger within a year or two; and in 1655, the year of our survey, it was acquired by Van Tienhoven, who seems to have built upon it before his disappearance from New Netherland. The Secretary, prior to 1638, had married Rachel Vinje, the stepdaughter of Jan Damen, one of the leading men of the Colony; and after the disappearance of her husband, she lived here with her young children for a few years till her death in 1663. The children, of whom Lucas, the eldest, was about fourteen years of age at his mother's death, and his sister Jannetje was six, appear to have been cared for by their uncle Pieter Stoutenburgh,¹ and after they had grown up and come into possession of the considerable landed estate left by their parents,²

¹ He had married Aefje van Tienhoven, sister of the Secretary, in 1649.

² Rachel van Tienhoven had inherited one-fourth part of the Damen farm, lying between Wall Street and Maiden Lane, while Cornelis, her husband, besides several parcels of land in the town proper, was the owner of the farm lying between the modern Maiden Lane and Ann Street.

Lucas van Tienhoven, who became a physician of prominence, occupied for many years the former residence of his father on 't Water, while his sister Jannetje, who had married a person named John Smith, resided in the house adjoining upon the east on the site of the present No. 37 Pearl Street.

The dingy warehouses of the present day, in the locality at which we have now arrived, with their closed shutters, give the impression that they are in a condition of permanent slumber, only waking up at intervals to receive or to discharge an occasional truck-load of merchandise, and then relapsing into somnolence. There is little in the surroundings now to call up ecclesiastical associations, yet here, upon the site of the warehouse, No. 39 Pearl Street,¹ stood the first church building erected between the Plymouth Colony and Virginia (the churches of which settlements antedated this by but very few years), and where Dominie Bogardus preached to the ancestors of many of the principal New York families. Not even a cheap memorial tablet marks the spot.

The church edifice, which was constructed of wood, in the year 1633, was doubtless not built for architectural effect; since critics speak of it, at the time of the building of the new church within the fort, as "a mean barn."² The waters of the East River washed the shore a few rods in front of the entrance to the church, from which, upon fine Sabbath mornings, the congregation must have often looked across to the white sand bluffs of the heights of Long Island, shining in the sun, and crowned by unbroken forests which extended to the horizon. At the west side of the building a narrow lane or passage ran through from Brugh Straet (modern

¹ And probably upon a few feet of the building No. 37.

² The people generally, however, are stated to have been opposed to the building of the new church within the walls of the fort, and this measure is described by contemporary writers as having been largely the work of Director Kieft himself, who may even then have had in contemplation his plan of exterminating the neighboring Indians, and was therefore desirous of providing against future contingencies.

VIEW OF THE MARCKVELDT AND 'T WATER, 1652.

Enlarged from the Justus Danckers and Vischer Views of New Amsterdam.



- A. The Hoisting Crane.
- B. Southeast Bastion of Port Amsterdam.
- C. White Horse Tavern.
- D. House late of Dominie Bogardus.
- E. Old Store-House of West India Co.
- F, F. The "Five Stone Houses" of West India Co.
- G. Brewery of West India Co.
- H. House of Peter van Conwenhoeven.
- I. " " " "
- J. " " " "
- K. " " " "
- L. " " " "
- M. " " " "
- N. " " " "
- O. " " " "
- P. " " " "
- Q. " " " "
- R. " " " "
- S. " " " "
- T. " " " "
- U. " " " "
- V. " " " "
- W. " " " "

- Q. Redoff Jansen Hakes.
- R. Pieter Cornelissen.
- S. Pieter Cornelissen van der Grift.
- T. New Store-House of West India Co.
- U. Augustyn Heermans.
- V. Jacob Hake.
- W. Old Church and Lane.

Bridge Street) to the shore, while upon its east side, and probably fronting the Brugh Straet, stood the modest parsonage with the Dominie's stable near it, this latter structure standing apparently upon the lane and in the rear of the church. It was at this parsonage,¹ in all probability, that the historic wedding took place, in the fall of 1642, of Doctor Hans Kiersted to Dominie Bogardus's eldest stepdaughter, Sara Roelofse. Director-General Kieft, who was then on good terms with the Dominie, was present, and had a plan for getting a liberal subscription for the new church upon this occasion. "The Director," say the authors of the "Remonstrance of New Netherland," "thought this a good time for his purpose, and set to work after the fourth or fifth drink; and he himself setting a liberal example, let the wedding guests sign whatever they were disposed to give towards the church. Each then, with a light head, subscribed away at a handsome rate, one competing with the other, and although some heartily repented it when their senses came back, they were obliged nevertheless to pay."

When the new church in the fort was sufficiently advanced in building, so that religious services might be held within it, and about the year 1643 or 1644, the old church building became a sort of "lumber house" of the West India Company, where tobacco, furs, and other articles were stored and prepared for shipment, and where wood was piled and sawed, sometimes by prisoners serving out sentences. In 1647 the Church Lane and the parsonage were sold,— the latter to one Pieter Lourensen. Finally, in 1656, the Company decided to sell the old church at auction, and upon such sale it was purchased by Jacob van Couwenhoven, a trader and general speculator, who soon transferred it to Isaac de Foreest; the latter owned the building many years, and it appears to have been generally used as a warehouse of some description, but it was afterwards made a dwelling-house, and was for a long

¹ The site of this parsonage would appear to have been the rear of the modern building, No. 45 Pearl Street. There is here, for some reason, a break in the consecutive numbering of the modern houses.

time the residence of Allard Anthony or of his family; it was standing as late as 1718. If, as seems to be the case, it is the building prominently shown near the shore and east of the pack-huys of the West India Company, in the *Visscher* view of New Amsterdam, it would appear to have been a low structure with not the slightest pretensions to ornamentation of any description; it was doubtless sufficiently spacious in its ground-plan, but presents a rather "squatty" appearance, and the term "barn," as applied to it, is not inapt.¹

Beyond the church and the parsonage, as far as the ditch, or "graft," in the present Broad Street, the ground was open and ungranted at the time of our survey, but in the following year 1656, the remainder of the ground embraced in the present block between Bridge and Pearl streets was granted, in four small parcels to different persons, who soon built upon their lots here.

¹ As to apparent defects occurring just at this point in the *Justus Danckers* view of New Amsterdam, see remarks in Appendix I., to this volume.

CHAPTER VII

ADAM ROELANTSEN, THE FIRST SCHOOLMASTER IN NEW AMSTERDAM, AND HIS HOUSE ON STONE STREET. — CAPTAIN WILLEM TOMASSEN

From hence the low murmur of his pupils' voices, conning over their lessons, might be heard in a drowsy summer's day, like the hum of a beehive, interrupted now and then by the authoritative voice of the master, in the tone of menace or command; or, peradventure, by the appalling sound of the birch, as he urged some tardy loiterer along the flowery path of knowledge.

IRVING: "Legend of Sleepy Hollow."

WE take our station again at the garden attached to Philip Geraerdy's White Horse tavern, which has been already described as having been upon the north side of Stone Street near Whitehall. Here the proprietor, hoeing his beans and cabbages and parsnips in the early summer morning, has probably often stopped to discuss the news of the day with his neighbor, Adam Roelantsen, the first schoolmaster of New Amsterdam, over the fence of rough palisades which divided their respective gardens. Adam Roelantsen Groen — for that was the full name, of which he occasionally made use — came over from the ancient little town of Dockum, situated in Friesland, in the extreme north of the Netherlands and within six or eight miles of the shore of the North Sea, where it stood surrounded by rich but treeless and monotonous meadows, and by the numerous salt-pans along the river Ee.

Adam Roelantsen arrived from the Netherlands while still a young man and as one of the earlier colonists; he was born about 1606, and was at New Amsterdam before the year 1633. The Frisians seem frequently to possess an aptitude for the exact sciences, particularly for mathematics, which renders

them valuable as schoolteachers, but as to Roelantsen's labors in this capacity, very little is known. He could hardly have taught many pupils at his earliest house, for it was very small, having in all probability been one of the original log and bark cottages of the settlement; it stood upon a mere slip of land but little larger than the house itself, and which lay between Geraerdy's garden and the Brouwer or Stone Street, and was probably the remains of a larger plot enclosed before the street was projected. To the eastward, on the north side of Stone Street, Roelantsen had a garden of fair extent, rather more than fifty by one hundred feet in area. A curious fact, showing the condition of the rising village, is that in 1641, Jan Damen's cattle, pasturing on the West India Company's land above the present Beaver Street, leased by Damen, broke out and made their way into this garden of Roelantsen, — there being apparently at that time no enclosed land lying between, — where they committed depredations for which he was awarded damages in the sum of twenty-three carolus guilders, — some eight or ten dollars of the present currency.

Roelantsen possessed one trait which must have seriously impaired his usefulness as an instructor: he seems to have been fond of prying into his neighbor's private affairs; and he not only kept a sharp eye on their actions, but when he discovered anything particularly racy, he retailed it out with great unction. This, as early as the year 1638, had brought out quite a crop of slander prosecutions, not only against Roelantsen, but by him against some of his assailants. These usually terminated, however, after the New Amsterdam fashion, in which the parties, after accusing one another of the most villanous actions, rushed to the court for redress, and when the cause came on for hearing, — either because they had no evidence to support or to defeat the charges, or else for the purpose of saving the costs of the trial, — they commonly retracted all that had been said on either side, and gave each other clean, not to say complimentary, bills of character, which were duly spread upon the minutes of the

court. Roelantsen, indeed, was not a popular man, and as early as 1643 he had a rival at New Amsterdam in the person of Jan Stevensen, another schoolmaster; but as little is known of the latter in that capacity as of Roelantsen himself. The probabilities are, however, that Adam was forced to resort to other means of eking out a livelihood for himself and for his young family. Mr. Valentine says, from certain court proceedings in 1638, that there is "some reason to suppose that the town schoolmaster also took in washing." This was, in fact, a suit by Roelantsen for the washing of defendant's linen, in which the defence was that "the year is not yet elapsed." It evidently referred to the business, still conducted to a considerable extent in Holland, of contracting for the washing for various periods, for individuals or for families, the work being carried on by employés of the contractor.

Affairs did not thrive with Adam Roelantsen, who seems to have found himself considerably burdened with debts. Part of these were no doubt incurred in building a new and larger house for himself a little to the east of his old one, upon the north side of Stone Street, in the spring of 1642. His original dwelling, which stood just about where the open court of the Produce Exchange now is, on Stone Street, was occupied for a short time after the completion of the new one, by negroes of the West India Company, but towards the end of 1642, he sold the materials of the old building to one Uldrich Klein.

Prior to 1646, Roelantsen, taking with him his eldest son, then a small boy, had departed for the Netherlands, upon what business we are uninformed. During his absence his wife Lyntie Martense died, leaving several small children (the youngest of whom were only about four and two years old respectively), with no one to look after them. Upon the 9th of March, 1646, the sad plight of the children was brought to the attention of the members of the Council, who after due deliberation adopted the somewhat ponderous resolution of appointing four of the nearest neighbors — to wit: Philip Geraerdy, Dr. Hans Kiersted, Jan Stevensen, the schoolmas-

ter, and Oloff Stevensen van Cortlandt — as curators or guardians, to look after the children “till the arrival of the father or some news of him.”

At last, about the month of July in the same year, Adam made his appearance in the ship “St. Jacob” from Amsterdam, but he did not come under auspicious circumstances. He had first to settle with the authorities for removing some of his goods from the public store before they were inspected; and after this he was sued for the board of himself and his son during the voyage, by the owner of the vessel: he was able, however, to defeat this latter claim by showing that the skipper of the “St. Jacob” had promised him his passage “if he would perform seaman’s work on the vessel, and his son said the prayers.”

There may be some just grounds for suspicion that Adam Roelantsen was preparing for a new marriage, for in the fall of 1646, we find him contracting for new wainscoting and other improvements for his house; if this were the case, his plans were seriously interfered with by an untoward occurrence in December of that year. He had about that time offered a grievous insult to the wife of one of his neighbors, and the matter, taken in connection with Adam’s previous doings, was brought to the notice of the Council; after deliberation that body adjudged that he should be publicly flogged, and banished from the Colony, as a nuisance. This sentence, like many others of the Council, was largely *in terrorem*, for four days afterwards, or on the 17th of December, 1646, they entered a further order: “In consideration that the aforesaid defendant has four small children, without a mother, and a cold winter is approaching, the actual banishment of the above sentence is delayed by the Director-General and Council until a more favorable opportunity, when the defendant may leave the country.” Roelantsen remained in New Netherland, in fact, for at least three years longer, but during the earlier portion of that period he seems to have been regarded as a mere privileged prisoner, and perhaps was such in a legal point of view. The carousing fiscal,

or prosecutor, Hendrick van Dyke, seems after a while to have found Roelantsen a useful person to attach to himself as a sort of servant or lackey; and in that capacity he had placed him, one evening in August, 1647, to keep watch before one of the taverns in the town, within which the fiscal was engaged in some parting festivities, in all probability, with some of his friends who were just on the point of departing on the fatal voyage of the "Princess." Just why Van Dyke needed a sentinel does not appear, but it is a fair conjecture that he feared the austerity of Director Stuyvesant, and was uncertain of his standing in the new régime of that magistrate. At any rate, the attractions of the tavern proved too strong for Roelantsen. "Some time afterwards," says one of the party present at the tavern upon this occasion, "said Roelantsen came in, and the fiscal asked, 'What are you doing here? Why do you not watch at the door?' Said Roelantsen answered there was nothing to watch. The fiscal, replying, said, 'You are my servant; you must wait at the door,' and at the same time struck said Roelantsen with the back of his hand, and at the same time cried out, 'Throw the blackguard out of doors.' Thereupon the above-named Adam Roelantsen was thrust out of doors." It may perhaps have been to quiet the hubbub caused by this affair that in this same year we find Roelantsen appointed provoost, or jailer. He remained at New Amsterdam till the latter part of the year 1649; on the 4th of December of that year, being then apparently on the point of embarking for the West Indies, he executed a letter of procuration to Jacob Tysen or Marritje Claes "to have during his absence a fatherly and motherly care of his children, who remain here with them." If he actually left New Amsterdam at this time he must have found his way back, for in 1653 he appears to have been a "wood sawyer" for the Company, employed in its packing house, the old church on Pearl Street. He seems to have sunk into the condition of a drudge of the West India Company, but was still at his old tricks, for he had an affray with one Stoffel Elsworth about the time mentioned and received a severe beating from

him. His house and garden on Brouwer or Stone Street had been taken into possession by one Claes Jansen Rust, probably a mortgagee, before Roelantsen's departure in 1649, for, in August of the same year, it had been sold by the curators of the estate of the former, who was then deceased, to Captain Willem Tomassen, "Skipper, under God, of the 'Falconer,'" who held the premises at the period of our survey in 1655.

The description of this building, which stood upon the eastern portion of the site of the present Produce Exchange, has been pretty clearly preserved to us. It was a clapboard structure, covered with a reed roof, and eighteen by thirty feet in size. Like most of the buildings in the thickly settled districts, it stood with its gable end to the street. At the front door was the usual "portal" with its wooden seats. Outside of the frame a chimney of squared timber was carried up. Within, the fireplace was provided with the luxury of a mantelpiece, and we may presume that the living room was ornamented with the "fifty-one leaves of wainscot," for which Adam Roelantsen had contracted a few years before. The house contained the usual "bedstead" or permanent frame built in, for state occasions, being somewhat of the nature of a bunk. It is perhaps a little difficult to go back now, in imagination, to the time when Adam Roelantsen and his family, upon the first mild evenings in spring, could listen from this house to the chorus of the "spring peepers" from Blommaert's Vly, along the present Broad Street; what time the air, perhaps, was heavy with the smell of burning brush from Barent Direksen's new clearing, just north of Maiden Lane; yet an unbroken succession of human life has, in fact, occupied this spot from such period, through nearly nine generations.

As for Captain Willem Tomassen, he appears to have been a resident of New Netherland prior to 1643, in which year he leased from Cornelis Direksen the then recently established ferry of the latter to Long Island, together with a house, garden, and some thirty odd acres of land at the foot of what is now Fulton Street, in Brooklyn, but which was then a mere

track, winding up a wooded ravine to afford access to the scattered clearings in the vicinity of Gowanus and of the Wallabout. How long Captain Tomassen's connection with the ferry lasted we do not know. He was a man of other affairs, and in 1647 was skipper of the "Great Gerrit," trading to Amsterdam. He seems to have been held in high estimation by Director-General Stuyvesant, for soon after the arrival of the latter to enter upon his administration at New Amsterdam, he appointed, in May, 1647, Captain Tomassen "storekeeper to watch over the company's effects," and also commander of the company's ships and forces in the absence of the Director-General. At the time of this appointment, Captain Tomassen gave up the command of his vessel; but two years later, at the time of his purchase of the Roelantsen house, we find him in command of another ship, the "Valckenier," or "Falconer," not a very large vessel, as in 1650, when he brought over one hundred and forty passengers on one of his trips from the Netherlands, we are informed that he had to leave many behind who were anxious to take passage with him, but for whom there was no room on board. In the house which we have described he resided for several years, but died within a year or two of the period of our survey. He was fond of using the latinized form of Gulielmus for his name, which was corrupted by his Dutch neighbors into "Ielmer," by which appellation he occasionally appears upon the old records.

CHAPTER VIII

SURGEON VAN DER BOGAERDT AND HIS HOUSE.—HIS TRAGICAL DEATH.—THE PRIVATEER “LA GARCE” AND HER PRIZES.—ISAAC DE FOREEST

THERE were sinister memories connected with the house on the north side of Stone Street, next to that of Captain Tomassen, as we proceed eastward. At the period of our survey, in 1655, it was owned and occupied by Isaac de Foreest, a man of prominence in the town, but its first owner and builder was Harmanus Meyndertsen van der Bogaerd, for several years the surgeon of the West India Company at New Amsterdam.

Few men commenced life in New Netherland under more favorable auspices than did Surgeon Van der Bogaerd. Coming over to the colony in the ship “Eendracht” from Amsterdam in 1630, when he could have been hardly more than a medical student, he seems to have acquired and to have maintained the confidence of the company’s superior officers for a long series of years. He appears, indeed, to have had an intimate acquaintance with many of the brawls and scandals that took place in the town, but probably this was only in the line of his professional duties. The Director and Council seem to have been disposed to advance Van der Bogaerd in lines not connected with his profession, and in 1639 he made a voyage to the West Indies as supercargo of the ship “Canary Bird.”

As to his ancestry in the Netherlands, or as to the particular place from which he came, we have no definite information. From his will, made in 1638, just prior to his voyage to the West Indies above referred to, we learn that his wife, Jelisje, was the daughter of one Claes Jansen, from Zierikzee, in Zea-

land, an ancient little town rich with its memories of desperate struggles with the Spaniards; the fame of its citizen-soldier, Lieve Heere, who precipitated himself into the sea voluntarily, lest a despatch which he was carrying through the lines of the Spanish besiegers should fall into their hands, has been the theme of poets in other tongues besides that of the Dutch.

Surgeon Van der Bogaerdt appears to have been related, either personally or on the side of his wife, to Claes Cornelissen Swits, whose tragical death, upon his solitary bouvery, at the hands of an Indian in 1642, was one of the remote causes which led up to Kieft's massacre of the Indians in the following year, and to the ruinous struggle which succeeded it. About the beginning of the summer of 1642, we find the surgeon selling to two Englishmen, James Smith and William Brown, his interest as "co-heir" in the plantation of the murdered man. At about the same time he executed a power of attorney to one of his brothers-in-law in the Netherlands to collect certain rents for him in the province of Zealand; but whether his interest in these arose in the same manner, by reason of the death of Claes Cornelissen, we have no information.

As early as 1645, Surgeon Van der Bogaerdt appears to have been living on "the road," as it was then often called, the name Brouwer Straet not being as yet in much use; here he had a plot of between fifty and sixty feet front, for which he did not obtain his "ground-brief" till the early part of 1647. His residence here must have been somewhat interrupted, however, for in 1646 he had obtained the important appointment of commissary at Fort Orange, or Albany. The surgeon appears to have been a man who was somewhat well to do, for in the early part of 1647, he had purchased a share in the privateering frigate "La Garce," to which a previous allusion has been made. This vessel, under the command of Captain Blauveldt, a very active and enterprising officer, had become famous at New Amsterdam (where she paid frequent visits) as early as 1644, when Captain Blauveldt captured

after a severe conflict, and brought into port, two Spanish barks. "La Garce" continued assiduously for several years to hunt Spanish prizes, but unfortunately Captain Blauveldt was so busy that he apparently had no time to go on shore occasionally to get information as to whether the war was still continuing between the United Netherlands, whose commission he carried, and the government of Spain. As a matter of fact, the long struggle between those countries was terminated by a treaty of peace in 1647, in which the independence of the Netherlands was at last fully acknowledged; though the great Treaty of Westphalia, which definitively restored peace to the larger portion of Europe, was not signed until the following year. In view of these events, the people of New Amsterdam were astounded to see, in the spring of 1649, about a year and a half after the treaty of peace, Captain Blauveldt and "La Garce" come sailing proudly up the harbor, bringing with him as a prize the Spanish bark "Tabasco," which he had captured in the river of the same name, emptying into the southern part of the Gulf of Mexico. Captain Blauveldt could not understand the scruples that were raised about the lawfulness of his capture. He said if there had been a treaty of peace with Spain, he had never heard of it. Besides that, he said, the Spaniard had never heard of it either, and when he summoned her to surrender, had answered by firing upon him. Moreover, he insisted, "La Garce," though sailing under Dutch colors and owned by Dutch proprietors, was really a French-built vessel, and France and Spain were still at war. The captain's arguments were not convincing, however, except possibly to the owners of "La Garce." The cause dragged along in the prize courts upon one technicality and another for a number of years, and the "Tabasco" was at last decided not to have been lawful prize. Long before this happened, however, one of the owners, Surgeon Van der Bogaerdt, had ceased to have any interest in "La Garce" and her prizes. At Albany, in the winter of 1647-48, he was accused of a criminal offence of grave nature. He took refuge in the Mohawk Country among the Indians,

with whom he had become well acquainted in the course of his official business at Albany, and when a party was sent by the magistrates to arrest him he made a determined resistance. In the course of the fray, the Indian cabin, in which he had fortified himself, which seems to have been a building of some size and importance, was set on fire, either accidentally or designedly, and Harmanus van der Bogaerdts perished in the flames. This affair made a great sensation in New Amsterdam, where his wife would seem to have been living at the time. The Indians demanded to be reimbursed for the destruction of their building, and in February, 1648, the Director-General and Council ordered a part of Van der Bogaerdts garden, upon Stone Street in New Amsterdam, to be sold for the purpose of indemnifying the Indians. The part sold seems to be the easternmost portion of the extensive site of the Produce Exchange.

Van der Bogaerdts widow married within a few months after his decease one Jean Labatie, or Labbate, as the Dutch called him, a person of French extraction, who was at the time master carpenter of the West India Company in New Amsterdam. They appear to have remained in possession of the surgeon's house on Stone Street (which occupied, it would seem, a portion of the site of the building No. 11 Stone Street, together with a few feet of that of the Produce Exchange) till the latter part of 1652, when they sold it to Isaac de Foreest. They had also some claim to the adjoining garden, previously ordered to be sold by the Council, or had themselves redeemed it, for in 1654 they sold out their interest in that parcel to one Paulus Schrick. Labatie afterwards removed to a farm near Albany, and later became one of the first settlers at Schenectady.

Isaac de Foreest and his elder brother Hendrick occupy a prominent place in the early history of New Netherland, as having been the pioneers of the settlement of Harlem. They were both young men when they came over from Leyden to New Amsterdam in 1636, — Isaac only about twenty years of age, and his brother Hendrick, though a married man, not

much older. From the rough, forest-clad hills, seamed with deep ravines, a part of which now occupy the north end of the Central Park, these two brothers, as they explored the island of the Mannhatoes, soon after their arrival, must have seen, as they looked to the northward, toward the wide salt-water estuary which we now know as Harlem River, a level expanse of some seven or eight hundred acres in area, broken only by one or two isolated rocky eminences crowned with trees. Through the midst of this ran a small fresh-water stream, and there is little doubt that portions of the plain had been long cleared and cultivated by the Indians. Here Hendrick de Foreest selected a tract of about two hundred acres, lying between the heights and the little stream flowing through the flats, and here, not very far from the present Harlem Lake in the Central Park, he commenced the erection of the first house of European settlers upon the north end of Manhattan island. Isaac de Foreest was probably an assistant of his brother in his early operations, but Hendrick soon dying, his widow married again, and the bouwery passed into the hands of strangers. Isaac de Foreest therefore sought to establish a new plantation for himself, and he secured about one hundred acres of ground, extending in a long, narrow strip for nearly a mile from about the present Fifth Avenue and One Hundred and Twelfth Street to the river shore in the neighborhood of First Avenue and One Hundred and Twenty-sixth Street. It was near the latter spot that in 1641 he had a dwelling and a large tobacco-house built by two English carpenters. He obtained a ground-brief or patent for this land in 1647. It had probably been devastated by the Indians in 1643, as most of the outlying plantations were, and whether De Foreest kept up his buildings there we do not know. In 1650 he sold the farm to Willem Beeckman; it was selected for the site of the village of Harlem, and Isaac de Foreest's lane, or cart-path, upon the east side of his farm, became the main street of the new settlement.

De Foreest himself, for some time before the last-mentioned date, had been dwelling upon the Winckel Straet in New

Amsterdam, where he owned the house next to that of Dominie Bogardus, to which previous reference has been made, in these sketches. Soon after his purchase of Surgeon Van der Bogaerd's house on Stone Street, he sold his former dwelling-house upon the Winckel Straet, and continued to make the Stone Street house his residence during most of the remainder of his life. As early as 1653, De Foreest was known as a successful brewer in New Amsterdam, and two or three years later he petitioned the Council for permission to contract for all the beer that one of his rivals in business could brew, in order to save the latter from pecuniary embarrassment. As to his place of business in the earlier years we are not informed, but as early as 1660 his large brewery stood upon the north side of the Prinsen Straet, now called Beaver Street, a short distance west of the modern William Street. De Foreest's brewing operations did not prevent his being engaged to some extent in public business, and in 1656 he was appointed "Master of the Weigh House." This building, intended for the weighing, measuring, gauging, etc., of goods had been ordered to be constructed in 1653, and stood near the little dock upon Schreyers Hoek. It was afterwards removed to a spot upon the south side of Pearl Street, at the head of another small dock on the line of the present Moore Street, built about 1659.

About the time of the surrender of New Amsterdam to the English in 1664, Isaac de Foreest incurred considerable censure from a part of his fellow-citizens. It seems that while the English vessels were lying in the harbor before New Amsterdam, with their force as yet unknown, De Foreest was taken prisoner, apparently by an English detachment which had landed upon Long Island and which encountered him at that place. He was taken to the ships, but was soon released, and sent back to New Amsterdam; there he reported that Colonel Nicoll had a force of about eight hundred English soldiers ready to make a landing. After the surrender, it was discovered (according to the representations made by the West India Company to the States-General) that the English

only had a few more than two hundred men, — a force hardly equal in number to the garrison. There was great indignation among the soldiers of the garrison and the more patriotic Dutch citizens, and some talk of repudiating Stuyvesant's articles of surrender. The Director-General's long course of petty tyranny, however, had so alienated the mass of the citizens that they seem to have looked upon the arrival of the English as a positive relief; they would do nothing, and the others had to swallow their indignation as best they could.

CHAPTER IX

*THE VAN CORTLANDT HOMESTEAD.—CATHERINE VAN
CORTLANDT AND HER CHURCH AT SLEEPY HOLLOW.—
VAN COUWENHOVEN'S HOUSES ON STONE STREET.—
PIETE HARTGERS, THE WAMPUM COMMISSIONER*

UPON the north side of Stone Street there stand two unpretending brick warehouses of the style of half a century ago. Between their high blank walls is a narrow lane, or passageway, which seems to lead to nowhere in particular, and which is closed to the street by a curious portcullis arrangement of iron bars. The ground covered by these buildings, Nos. 13 and 15 Stone Street, and by the passageway, together with a small additional strip upon the west, forms a spot which ought to be of some interest to a good many of the citizens of New York, for it is the ancestral site of one of their oldest families, the Van Cortlandts.

From the small town of Wyck te Durstadt, a few miles southeast of Utrecht, Oloff Stevensen van Cortlandt came over to New Amsterdam in 1637 as a soldier in the service of the West India Company. Director-General Kieft, who came to the Colony in the year succeeding Van Cortlandt's arrival, seems to have taken a fancy to the young soldier, and transferred him from the military to the civil service, giving him the appointment of commissary, or superintendent of cargoes at the port. The direct compensation of this office was not very lucrative, however, for in 1641, his salary was *raised* to 30 guilders, or about \$12 per month; the probabilities are that his services in the office to which he was thus appointed were only needed at the comparatively infrequent intervals of the arrival or departure of a vessel in port. At any rate, we find him at about this period with a

"plantation" on his hands near where the village of Greenwich was subsequently located, — the present Ninth Ward of the city. Probably enough, this came to him through a mortgage from one Thomas Betts, or Bescher, as he is sometimes called, who seems to have occupied it for a time. This man is said to have been an Englishman, and appears to have succumbed about this time to the twofold misfortunes of an encumbered farm and a worthless wife. In the spring of 1641, Van Cortlandt leased the plantation to three persons who seem to have been Englishmen, for the rental of three hundred pounds of tobacco per year. More than by his farming investments, however, Van Cortlandt's prospects were improved by his marriage in 1642 to Anneken, sister of Govert Loockermans, the leading merchant and Indian trader of the Colony at that time. Soon thereafter he received from Director Kieft the somewhat important appointment of keeper of the public store, and thenceforwards his advancement in wealth and influence was quite rapid.

Van Cortlandt was living upon "the road," or Stone Street, as early as 1646, and had obtained his deed or ground-brief for the land in the preceding year. In addition to his appointments under the West India Company, he was the agent for the ex-Director Van Twiller, who, upon his return to the Netherlands in about the year 1638, had retained quite extensive landed interests in the Colony. Van Cortlandt also took a prominent part in the affairs of the church at New Amsterdam, of which he was a deacon; and mention has already been made, in a preceding chapter of this work, how Director-General Kieft induced him to bring a suit for slander against Dominie Bogardus, which suit, however, was afterwards settled amicably between the parties. Following this affair there seems to have been some diminution of Van Cortlandt's influence with the officers of government at New Amsterdam; he was certainly out of his office of keeper of the stores as early as the spring of 1647, and in that same year he was chosen by the popular party of New Amsterdam as one of the representative "Nine Men," who afterwards

drew up the historic "Remonstrance" to the States-General against the misrule of the West India Company and its officers in New Netherland. Van Cortlandt signed this document with the remarkable statement appended to his signature that it was "under protest." Just what he meant by this is not entirely plain, but it appears to have been a sort of "hedging" device. The Secretary Van Tienhoven, who went over to the Netherlands for the purpose of answering the "Remonstrance," on behalf of the colonial authorities, did not fail to vilify, after his usual fashion, Van Cortlandt for his ambiguous conduct: "He has profited by the Company's service," said the Secretary, "and is endeavoring to give his benefactor the pay of the world, — that is, evil for good."

Politics being unsatisfactory, Oloff van Cortlandt now appears to have given his attention more particularly to private business, and in 1648, according to Valentine, he became a brewer. No reference to the site of his brewery is found in the Dutch land records. Many years afterwards, when the Van Cortlandts had acquired much property in the Marketfield Lane, adjoining the rear of their original grant upon Stone Street, their breweries and appurtenances are referred to as large buildings apparently occupying sites in the interior of the block. The lane, or passageway, previously spoken of may, indeed, have been the original approach to these structures from Stone Street. As to Van Cortlandt's house, the records seem to be equally silent. Muniments of the family may possibly be in existence which could throw light upon these points, but one or two so-called descriptions of the ancient buildings which have heretofore appeared in print would appear to be entirely fanciful.

Here, then, Oloff Stevensen van Cortlandt spent many of the closing years of his life. If he sometimes remembered the village of his last abode in the Netherlands and the waters of the Rhine flowing silently by it through the old Lech channel which Civilis and the Batavians had excavated more than fifteen centuries before; if he called to mind the surrounding lowlands, yellow with the wheat harvest; and

the Amersfoort Hills beyond, — quite mountains to the Netherlands, — where white fields of buckwheat checkered the purple of the heaths and the green of the woodlands, — he never allowed these memories to call him back to the old country, though he early acquired an ample competence for his day. He remained quietly in New Amsterdam, holding the office of Burgomaster of the city for ten years, from 1655 to 1665, and when the English made their descent upon New Amsterdam in 1664, Director-General Stuyvesant appointed him one of the commissioners to negotiate the surrender to the English. After his death in 1683, members of his family long retained this property or a portion of it, but it eventually passed out of their hands. The “brick dwelling-house, kitchen, brew-house, malt-house, mill-house, horse-mill, out-houses, storehouses, and stables,” which stood here in the next century, have all disappeared, but an edifice erected by Oloff van Cortlandt’s daughter Catherine, who was a child of two or three years of age at the time of our survey, in 1655, has been more enduring. The little church of gray stone, in the building of which in 1699 she took such a lively interest, still stands, much as of old, upon the Albany post-road, near the site of the upper manor-house of her husband Frederick Phillipse, north of Tarrytown. The ancient road, somewhat widened since Catherine van Cortlandt’s day, still winds around the shady knoll upon which her church stands, and climbs the hill beyond; but the tenants of the manor, the slaves of the Phillipses, and the straggling Indian hunters who frequented it in her time have long since vanished from memory. The few slabs of brown stone scattered here and there around the church, when she passed among them, —

“ With slow feet, treading reverently
The graveyard’s springing grass,” —

have expanded, in the course of two centuries, to almost a “city of the dead;” but at the foot of the knoll, the Pocantico, enriched with legendary charms by the genius of Washington Irving, flows from out its woody solitudes, as

it did when the foundress of the church looked down upon it, — of whom, turning to the list of members in the records of this ancient Dutch church, we read: —

“First and before all, the right honorable, God-fearing, very wise and prudent my lady Catharine Phillipse, widow of the lord Frederick Phillipse of blessed memory, who has promoted service here in the highest praiseworthy manner.”

Oloff van Cortlandt's descendants were extensive landholders, and, either directly or by marriage, they controlled at one time all the land along the east side of the Hudson River, from the highlands above the modern Peekskill to the Spuyten Duyvil Creek, a distance of about thirty miles, and extending several miles back into the country. Their name is perpetuated in that of the town of Cortlandt in Westchester County, and in Courtlandt Street and the Van Cortlandt Park in the City of New York.

The interval upon the north side of Stone Street between the Van Cortlandt house and the present Broad Street is now occupied by buildings fronting upon the latter street, but it was not so occupied originally. In the spring of 1645, Peter Wolphertsen van Couwenhoven, one of several members of a family who came from Amersfoort, only a few miles away from Oloff van Cortlandt's last dwelling-place in the Netherlands, obtained a grant from Director Kieft of a plot of ground, nearly fifty by one hundred and twenty-five feet in area, at the corner of Stone Street and the present Broad Street, the latter being at this point, and at the time mentioned, a mere narrow road or lane about twenty-five or thirty feet in width, and with an artificial ditch or channel skirting its east side. Here Van Couwenhoven built near the corner of the streets a modest house — one story and a garret only — which in the next year, 1646, he sold to Arnoldus van Hardenbergh. He then immediately acquired from the Director-General the grant of another parcel of about the same size, lying between the first and Van Cortlandt's garden, and proceeded to build another house here. This he held for several years, until 1652, when he sold it to Pieter

Hartgers, who was the owner at the period of our survey. Hartgers, who had married one of the step-daughters of Dominie Bogardus, was engaged much of his time in trading with the Indians, and occupied this house very irregularly. Finally, he appears to have taken up his residence in Fort Orange, or Albany, where he received grants of land, and where he was one of the magistrates in 1658. He acquired the reputation of a great expert as to the values of the Indian wampum, or shell money, and was appointed in 1659 a commissioner at Albany to estimate the same. His intimate acquaintance with the Indians led him to make long expeditions into the forests to drum up trade with them, a course of business which excited great jealousy among his less enterprising rivals. He retained the Stone Street house, but whether as a storehouse in his business, or in the occupation of tenants is not known. At the time of the surrender to the English in 1664, Hartgers became obnoxious to the new government from some cause or other, — possibly from a refusal to take the oath of allegiance, — and his property was confiscated. A curious circumstance, showing the scarcity of money in the Colony, is that so late as 1659 this house was the subject of a mortgage to secure “three hundred and thirteen whole beaver-skins.”

As for the corner plot mentioned above, after its sale in 1646 to Arnoldus van Hardenbergh for 1600 guilders, or about \$640 of the present currency, it appears to have become encumbered with debts of its owner to one Hendrick Scharf, of Amsterdam, and an arrangement was effected in the year 1652 by which the house and garden was turned over to the brother of Arnoldus, Johannes Hardenbergh, who was at that time a merchant of Amsterdam. He was the owner of this property at the time of our survey, but it is not certain whether he ever actually resided here. He died before the year 1659, in which year the place was sold by the curators of his estate, and soon after this date the garden was sold off in small lots fronting upon the Graft, or Broad Street.

CHAPTER X

THE "DITCH," OR GRAFT.—TEUNIS CRAIE AND HIS HOUSES ON THE DITCH.—THE JEWS IN NEW AMSTERDAM.—SOLOMON LA CHAIR, THE NOTARY, AND HIS TAVERN.—THE BANISHMENT OF MICHIEL PICQUET

Ein Jahrtausend schon und länger
Dulden wir uns brüderlich ;
Du, du duldest, dass ich atme,
Dass du rasest, dulde ich.

Jetzt wird unsre Freundschaft fester,
Und noch täglich nimmt sie zu ;
Denn ich selbst begann zu rasen
Und ich werde fast wie du !

HEINE: "An Edom."

IT required some education in the ways of the Netherlanders to render the Graft, or the modern Broad Street, at which we have now arrived, a very desirable place of residence in the year 1655. The bog or morass towards the head of the present street was known as Blommaert's, and afterwards as the Company's Vly, in the earlier days of the settlement, and had long been an eyesore to the officers of the Company. As early as 1638 it appears that measures to drain it were in contemplation; and when Director Kieft leased the land north of the present Beaver Street to Jan Damen, in the spring of that year, the curious reservation was made that "in case the Company think proper to plant vineyards or gardens in the Vly, the lessee shall permit the same." The natural outlet of this swamp was a small freshwater run which emptied into the East River near the intersection of Broad with the present Pearl Street, just south of which last-named street was the original shore line. Before

1643, an artificial channel or ditch had been constructed to carry off the waters of the swamp: this was only a few feet in width, and was carried along the middle of the present Broad Street; upon its west side there was left a roadway of twenty-five or thirty feet in width extending from the shore to the present Beaver Street, but upon its east side no such roadway appears to have been originally in contemplation, for the first grants of land here came in several instances quite to the ditch and consequently infringed upon the eastern half of the present Broad Street. This was the condition of the Graft at the period of our survey, but a little later, larger views prevailed with the Director and Council, and in 1657-59, arrangements were made with the landholders on the east side of the Graft; a strip corresponding in size with that upon the west of the ditch was added to the street, thus bringing it to its present width, and the ditch was widened and deepened so as to form a canal extending nearly to Beaver Street, through which canal the tide ebbed and flowed. To protect the sides of this canal, it became necessary to sheathe it with planks, and this was done by the public authorities at considerable expense, and to the great dissatisfaction of the property owners along it, who made such determined opposition to the collection of the assessments laid upon them, that the West India Company was fain to contribute nearly half of the cost of the work in order to prevent public disturbances.

Low-lying and damp as the "Ditch Street" must have been before the construction of the canal in 1657, it doubtless possessed attractions for Teunis Craie, who obtained from the Director and Council, in April, 1647, a ground-brief for a parcel of land at the southwesterly corner of the present Stone and Broad streets, being in area about thirty-seven feet front on the former street and fifty-five feet on the latter.

Craie, who had come from Venlo, a small border town upon the Meuse River in Upper Gelderland, must have been among the earlier emigrants, for he had established himself

in New Amsterdam as early as 1639, in which year, following the curious custom of the colonists and of the West India Company, he had hired, or rather leased for six years, as the legal instrument expresses it, two milch cows, imported from the Netherlands by the Company. The rent under this singular contract was to be fifty pounds of butter annually, and the risk of death of the cattle, and the ultimate increase of the same, were to be shared in common by Craie and the Company. In all probability he was at this time located upon some clearing outside of the village,¹ for in the winter of 1642-43, just before the Indian war broke out, we find him making a contract with one Walter Davel to put a post-and-five-rail fence around his plantation. Like most of the farmers of Manhattan Island at that period, however, his plantation seems to have suffered devastation at the hands of the Indians in the war which followed Kieft's cruel and foolhardy outrages upon the latter in the early part of 1643. Driven to the village for security, we find Craie looking about for an abode there in the following summer. It was no time for building operations, but he found a small house which seems to have been in a somewhat dilapidated condition, and which stood upon the road along "The Ditch," at the northwest corner of the present Bridge and Broad streets. It was in all probability the first house built along the line of the latter street, and had been originally acquired by Abraham Ryken (the ancestor of the Rikers of later days), in company with one Jan Pietersen from Amsterdam. These persons had sold the house in the spring of 1643 to Michiel Picquet, a Frenchman from the ancient city of Rouen in Normandy. Picquet, who had a plantation on Long Island, did not purpose to occupy this small house himself, and in August, 1643, Teunis Craie, searching for a habitation at

¹ This clearing appears to have occupied a portion of the tract lying along the East River, between the so-called "Great Bouwery" of the West India Company (afterwards granted to Director-General Stuyvesant) and Deutel or "Turtle" Bay;—or speaking in a general way, between the modern Twenty-first and Forty-fifth streets. This tract passed through many vicissitudes in the earlier years of the Colony.

the village, was able to hire the house of its owner at the yearly rental of 40 guilders, or about \$16; the rent was certainly not exorbitant, but as its owner had only paid 150 guilders, or about \$60, for the premises, it gave him fair returns for his investment. In addition Craie agreed "to plaster and make the house tight once," and to enclose a yard in the rear "to lay wood in." Even this humble little cottage near the fort was looked upon in the troubled condition of the times as a place of refuge. The owner stipulates in his lease to Craie that "if in consequence of enemies, Indians, or other inconveniences, necessity require Michael Picquet to lodge in said house with his family and baggage, he may do so without deduction of rent."

Here, then, Teunis Craie apparently resided until he acquired the adjoining lot to the north, already spoken of, and built a house for himself in or about the year 1647. His house, which stood upon the corner of Stone Street, faced "The Ditch," or Broad Street with its gabled front, and the capacious Dutch oven in its rear about filled up the short lot. Just south of the latter appendage, and likewise upon the rear of his lot, stood his well, — a famous one in the neighborhood. To it, and along the south side of his house, extended a path, which subsequently, when in the course of a few years he had built another house upon the southern portion of his ground, and also fronting Broad Street, became a gated alleyway between the two houses, in which the formidable "drip" of the steep Dutch roofs produced a miniature cascade whenever a hard rain fell.

The small house of Teunis Craie upon "The Ditch" possesses some interest as having been the spot upon which the Jews first attempted to establish themselves in the rising village of New Amsterdam. The Portuguese Jews — so-called — had for a considerable period been numerous and influential in Amsterdam, where about twenty years after the period of our survey (or in 1674), they built the great synagogue, massive and imposing in its simplicity, and standing upon a commodious square, bounded on two sides

by broad canals, the Muyder Graft and the Nieuwe Heere Graft, — one of the choicest locations in the city, from which it overlooked, across the latter canal, the greenhouses and trim alder hedges and beds of rare plants of the Hortus Medicus, the celebrated Botanical Garden of Amsterdam. This division of the Jews of Amsterdam known as the Portuguese, embraced, however, many of other nationalities, particularly French and Italians. They formed the aristocracy of the sect, and were moreover divided by differences of dogma from their much humbler brethren, whose modest place of worship stood at no great distance from them across the Muyder Graft, and bore the formidable appellation of the Hoogduytsse Joode Kerk, signifying, however, nothing more than the High Dutch Jewish Church, whose congregation, in addition to the High Dutch, or Germans, embraced also the Polish and Silesian Jews; they had few affiliations with the Portuguese.

In so far as the Jews were merchants and capitalists, their presence was by no means unwelcome in the metropolis and larger cities of the Netherlands, where every nerve was strained to extend the commercial influence of the country; but in the colonies, largely composed of the poorer classes of emigrants, and where the competition of the Jewish traders was dreaded by the small shopkeepers, they were looked upon with much less favor; consequently, in November, 1655, when Asher Levy, a butcher by trade, who afterwards became a citizen of prominence, and who was one of the pioneers of the Jews in New Amsterdam, petitioned the Council that he might be permitted to mount guard with the other burghers (during the Indian troubles of that year), in place of paying a commutation tax levied upon him as a stranger, the privilege was not only refused by Stuyvesant and his Council, but the insulting comment was minuted upon his petition, that "if the petitioner consider himself aggrieved, he may go elsewhere."¹

¹ The first Jews to arrive in New Amsterdam came in the French bark "St. Charles," in the summer of 1654. They were brought by Jacques de la

It was about this time that Craie, possibly disturbed by the then threatening condition of affairs in the Colony, offered at public auction the southernmost of his houses on "The Ditch," or the present Broad Street. It was struck down to one Salvador d'Andradi, whose name indicates that he was one of the Portuguese Jews; the purchaser immediately made an application to the Council with the request that he might be permitted to take and register his deed for the house; permission, however, was refused by that body.¹ Craie now petitioned the Council to take, by virtue of its right of pre-emption, the property off his hands at the figure bid for it at public sale, or otherwise to allow him to give his deed to the Jewish purchaser, but this was likewise refused by the Council. Craie was persistent in the matter, and on the 14th of March, 1656, having a few days before sold the house to Pieter Schabanck and Gysbert van Imbroeck, he again applied to the Council, alleging that he was then about to sail for the Fatherland, that he had been obliged to dispose of his house for a less sum than D'Andradi had offered at the auction sale a few months before, and request-

Motte, the master of the vessel, from the harbor of Bahia in Brazil. They numbered, according to a statement made by one of them, Solomon Pieters, "twenty-three souls, big and little," but as to what brought this colony from the Brazils we have no information. A considerable sum remained due to the master of the "St. Charles" for their board and passage, and as the principal men among them had signed an agreement whereby they became jointly and severally liable for the whole amount, very rigorous proceedings were taken against them. An auction sale was held of their goods, and the proceeds being insufficient to discharge the indebtedness, two of them, David Israel and Moses Ambrosius, were ordered to be taken into confinement and held until the amount was made up. Among the sufferers was Asser "Leeven" or Levy, spoken of in the text; all of his goods were sold at auction, although before the sale he had offered to pay all charges incurred by himself. The New Amsterdam Court held him, however, to be a surety for the debt of all the others.

¹ Salvador d'Andradi was one of several Jewish partners who brought over a consignment of goods in the ship "Great Christopher," in the early part of 1655. The other partners were Abraham de Lucina, David Frera, Joseph Dacosta, and one other, whose name has not yet entirely died out in New York, — Jacob "Cawyn," or Cohn. They arrived just in time to be roundly taxed for the new city fortifications along Wall Street, although, as we have seen, they were not allowed to become landholders.

ing the Council to reimburse him one half of the difference in price; his request again fell upon unsympathetic ears. Craie does not appear to have departed for the Netherlands at this time; but there is every reason to believe that his representations of this affair reached the Directors of the West India Company at Amsterdam, who promptly repudiated the action of Stuyvesant and the Council, and on the 14th of June, 1656, an order was made permitting the Jews to establish a "quarter" in New Amsterdam: their numbers, however, remained but small for many years.¹

As for Teunis Craie's first-built house upon the corner of Stone Street, he sold it about this time to an individual who gave him far more trouble than his Jewish purchaser of the adjoining premises, and that was to an impecunious gentleman of the legal profession, Solomon Pietersen La Chair by name, who seems to have carried on his law office here in conjunction with a small tavern, or ale-house, to which his huysvrouw, Anneken, attended during his absence on the multifarious duties of his profession in the Colony, — duties which carried him sometimes to Breuckelen, sometimes to Gravesend and occasionally as far as Fort Orange, or Albany. For travelling facilities he seems to have made use of a small yacht.

La Chair, of whom many curious particulars were brought to light by the discovery in the New York County Clerk's Office, some thirty or forty years ago, of his register of business as a notary, and who seems to be regarded by Mr. D. T. Valentine as the Father of the Bar of New York, — using of course that term in its technical and not in its vulgar sense, — was undoubtedly a man of considerable attainments, professional and otherwise, and possessed a very fair business knowledge of English. His first appearance in New Amsterdam, so far as we are informed, was in the year 1655, when he petitioned the Burgomasters for permission to keep tavern in the house of Teunis Craie, then hired by him.

¹ Their synagogue in Mill Street was not established till more than forty years after the order of Council above mentioned.

It seems very probable that he had just arrived in New Amsterdam at this time, and resorted to tavern-keeping until he might be better able to gain a footing in the practice of the more learned profession.

The location he had chosen was not an unfavorable one; as he sat at the front of his house in the intervals of business, possibly poring over one of his commentaries on the Roman-Dutch law, — in which quotations from the Mosaic code, from the Greek and Latin classics, and from the Fathers of the Church, were freely intermingled, in a manner equally ponderous and bewildering, — he had before him just at his right hand the bridge across the Ditch, or “Graft” in Broad Street, which was about midway between the present Bridge and Stone streets, and over which all persons from the Long Island ferry, as well as from the eastern part of town, must pass on their way to the Secretary’s office and to the other government offices near the fort; while beyond the bridge, looking over the gardens of three or four houses along the shore, he had a clear view of anything that was going on around the City Tavern, which served also at this time as the Town Hall for public gatherings and the meetings of the burgomasters, and was also the seat of the ordinary courts.

But, as has been already suggested, La Chair was chronically impecunious: he did not pay his rent, and was sued for it; he did not pay the wages of the pilot of his yacht, and was sued for them; he did not pay for various articles purchased by him, and was sued for the price by the sellers; he did not pay until driven to the last ditch of resistance certain fines and taxes imposed upon him, and then he accompanied the payment with such disparaging remarks upon the collecting officers — in one case asserting that his money was paid to no other purpose than “to have a little cock booted and spurred” — that those aggrieved individuals found it necessary to lay the matter before the Council in order to soothe their wounded feelings; much after the manner of their prototype, Dogberry:

“Moreover, sir (which, indeed, is not under white and black), this plaintiff here, the offender, did call me ass. I beseech you, let it be remembered in his punishment.”

In the same way, when in the early part of 1656 La Chair purchased the house he occupied of Teunis Craie, agreeing to pay for it in instalments, the sum of 2000 guilders, or about \$800, — following his usual custom, he allowed himself to be sued for the very first instalment. This seems to have been settled at the time, but two years later the owner was obliged to bring suit for the last instalment, in answer to which La Chair entered the airy plea “that the money was ready at one time, but has slipped through his fingers;” it appears, in fact, to have slipped through irrecoverably, for we soon afterwards find Craie again in possession of his house, which in 1660 he disposed of to Oloff Stevensen van Cortlandt, La Chair in the mean time having removed to another part of the town, where he died a few years later, so insolvent that the court pondered a long time as to whether a certain elaborate “gown and petticoat” of Anneken, his widow, should be sold for the benefit of his creditors, or whether they should be left to cheer the widow’s heart in her second nuptials with one William Doeckles.

It seems to have been the case that Teunis Craie’s operations in real estate in New Amsterdam had not been very profitable to him, and he suffered a further misfortune in the fact that a woodland tract of some sixty or seventy acres, which he had acquired in 1653 upon Long Island (fronting the East River, a short distance north of the present Astoria), was rendered comparatively worthless to him for many years by the order of the Council, in 1656, forbidding isolated farms or plantations, in order to prevent depredations by the Indians. In 1673 he had obtained a judgment of 186 florins, or about \$72, against Allard Anthony, the former sheriff, a man of considerable political influence; this judgment he had been unable to collect for nearly a year, and in 1674 he applied to the court for permission to levy on the goods of

the late sheriff, "earnestly entreating this Worshipful Court once again to take his most pitiable condition into consideration and to give order that the said Judgment may be put into execution without further delay, to the end that he may again receive his disbursed money to use it in his old age."

Craie had retained a mere slip of ground upon the south side of his original grant, and here he built one of the tiniest dwelling-houses ever erected in New York;¹ the lot upon which it stood was less than ten feet front by about forty feet deep; it occupied very nearly the site of the covered driveway of the building No. 92 Broad Street, within which it might almost have stood, among the bales of hay and bags of feed now occupying that locality. Here Teunis Craie appears to have resided for a number of years, partly supported by the not very lucrative official employments which Mr. Valentine enumerates as having been held by him, such as town crier, measurer of apples and onions brought to market, and tally-master of the bricks and tiles imported from Holland. In 1677, his widow Catrina conveyed the small house above mentioned to the deacons of the Reformed Church, in consideration of her support and maintenance, she being then poor and aged. She had died prior to 1682, in which year the officers of the church disposed of the property.

However much Teunis Craie might have felt

"The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune,"

he was lucky in comparison with his neighbor and former landlord, Michiel Picquet, whose humble house stood at the northwest corner of the present Bridge and Broad streets, as previously described. This man had endeavored, in his lease to Craie, as we have already seen, to guard himself against "enemies, Indians, or other inconveniences," — but he failed

¹ A smaller one is, however, to be seen at present (1900) in Stone Street, upon the rear of the old *Stadt Huys* ground. This diminutive structure, known as No. 32½ Stone Street, has only about seven feet front.

to provide against one of the worst inconveniences of all, — namely, that of an unbridled tongue. He appears, in fact, to have been something of what the good Dame Quickly, of Eastcheap, held in such abhorrence, — namely, a “swaggerer.” In common with most of the citizens who had suffered from the Indian wars, he entertained a bitter hatred of Director Kieft, and he appears to have been a warm partisan of his neighbor, just over “the Ditch” in Broad Street, — Cornelis Melyn, the leader of the opposition to the arbitrary despotism of Kieft and of Stuyvesant. Soon after Stuyvesant’s arrival at New Amsterdam, in the early part of the summer of 1647, and before Kieft had sailed for the Netherlands on the fatal voyage of the “Princess,” Picquet was accused of having berated Kieft as “a betrayer of his country, a villain and traitor; and saying if nobody would shoot him, he (said Picquet) would do it himself; that his legs should never carry him out of the country; that Cornelis Melyn had full a hundred men at his command, and there would be great bloodshed on the spot where the ex-Director surrendered his authority to General Stuyvesant; and if the latter did not behave himself better than the old Director, he, too, should pass under the door; (striking under his arm),” — a somewhat vulgar allusion to the standard method of punishment of refractory small boys.

Although this style of talk was probably a fair sample of the ordinary ale-house discussions of the period, and although it was generally winked at by the authorities in the case of any person likely to have influence enough to carry his complaints to the home country, it was not to be endured in the case of this obscure Frenchman. Picquet was taken into custody “for that scandalous and godless act,” and was, in fact, ordered to be put to the torture, — probably for the purpose of extracting information respecting the matters hinted at in his vaporings. It should not be forgotten, in this connection, that the history of New York goes back to the time when the rack was an acknowledged feature of judicial procedure.

Some kind of settlement was made of this affair, and Picquet received Director-General Stuyvesant's pardon, but his rancor had apparently not abated, and he had profited but little by his former experience, for in a short time he was again placed under arrest, charged with saying that he would shoot the Director between his bouwery (at the present Ninth Street) and the fort. The ignorant and probably weak-minded character of this man is pretty well shown by the record of his examination taken upon this occasion. When asked what he had to say, he declared that the witnesses against him were unworthy of belief because they "had stolen watermelons and some boards. Asked if he could prove it, says he has no proof, but that God was his witness." The trial of this case was attended with one public benefit; it displayed at a very early date in his administration the thoroughly hypocritical character of the new Director-General. Stuyvesant, at first, with a great parade of his virtue, refused to sit as a judge upon the trial on account of his personal interest in the matter. Afterwards, finding in all probability the other members of the Council too leniently disposed to suit his views, he sulkily took his seat with the others, and was the only member of the court who voted that a sentence of death should be passed upon the prisoner. The judgment of the court was sufficiently severe, however; Michiel Picquet was sentenced to be transported to Holland on the ship "Falconer," to serve a term of eighteen years' imprisonment in 't Rasphuis, the criminal prison of Amsterdam, so-called from the common occupation of the prisoners at that time in rasping the heavy Brazil wood into dust for dyeing purposes.

Before the sailing of the vessel, however, the prisoner made his escape from Fort Amsterdam. The Council, with a polite attention to form, somewhat similar to that of the executioner's clownish assistant, calling the condemned criminal to execution, in "Measure for Measure": "you must be so good, sir, to rise and be put to death," — ordered Picquet to be summoned three times "by the ringing of

the bell, to come and defend his case." That obstinate and unaccommodating individual having failed to appear, however, the Council proceeded, on July 4, 1647, to do the best it could in vindication of its slighted authority by passing a further sentence of banishment against Picquet, and of confiscation of his property. His house at the corner of Bridge and Stone streets is soon found — probably by direct grant from the Director and Council — in the possession of Hendrick Willemsen, a baker, who occupied the premises for many years.¹

¹ As for Picquet, he must have subsequently either surrendered himself or been captured; for in the fall of 1647 he, together with the Scotchman, Andrew Forrester, agent of the Earl of Stirling, who had been imprisoned by the authorities at New Amsterdam, for asserting his principal's claim to Long Island was sent away in the ship "Valckenier" for transportation to the Netherlands. The vessel, however, on its way, touched at an English port, and while there, both the prisoners made their escape. (Letter of the Directors, etc., to General Stuyvesant, dated April 7, 1648.)

CHAPTER XI

*CORNELIS MELYN, PATROON OF STATEN ISLAND.—THE
INDIAN TROUBLES.—JOCHEM PIETERSEN KUYTER.—
THE STRUGGLES OF MELYN AND KUYTER AGAINST
THE COLONIAL AUTHORITIES.—THE BARON VAN DER
CAPELLEN.—SIBOUT CLAESEN, OF HOORN*

He was one
Of many thousand such that die betimes,
Whose story is a fragment known to few.
Then comes the man who has the luck to live,
And he's a prodigy. Compute the chances,
And deem there's ne'er a one in dangerous times
Who wins the race of glory, but than him
A thousand men more gloriously endowed
Have fallen upon the course; a thousand others
Have had their fortunes founded by a chance,
Whilst lighter barks pushed past them.

TAYLOR: "Philip Van Artevelde."

IT has been already stated that the bridge over the little stream in Broad Street was originally a short distance — some fifty feet or thereabouts — north of Bridge Street. This location carried the road towards the ferry around a parcel of land situated upon the river shore, upon which stood the house of a man who for half a score of years filled a very conspicuous position in the public eye, — Cornelis Melyn, of Antwerp.¹

There is something about the determined character of Cornelis Melyn, and the long struggle which he carried on against the petty despots who represented the authority of the

¹ The name Melyn, like so many others of the modern family names among persons descended from a Germanic ancestry, is quite likely to have been derived from some former place of residence of the family, which in this case, it is not improbable, was the village of Melin, about sixty miles southeast of Antwerp, in the direction of Maestricht, from which it is not far distant.

West India Company in New Amsterdam, which lends an air of historic dignity to the man, and marks him as one of the first of a long line of champions in the colony, of individual rights, as against arbitrary and irresponsible power. He came naturally by his hatred of despotism. At his native Antwerp, in the first half of the seventeenth century, he could have talked with men who remembered when it was not unusual for two thousand vessels or more to be lying in the port of that city, or for a hundred to sail up the Scheldt with each favoring tide. They could have told him of misfortune after misfortune under the Spanish rule, of wars and grinding taxes, of the introduction of the Inquisition, of the dreadful sack of the city by the mutinous Spanish garrison in 1576, when six thousand of the citizens perished by the sword, by fire, and by water; and he himself could have seen how the growth of the commerce of Amsterdam, after its emancipation from the Spanish incubus, had drawn away to itself the trade and the most enterprising of the tradesmen of Antwerp. Now, as he trod the streets of the city, their spaciousness contrasted strangely with the solitude that reigned in them; he passed by quaint old mansions, of which the half were closed and uninhabited; but few vessels were to be seen now in the Scheldt or along the canals, and upon the quays the grass grew; the busy crowds had forsaken the great Exchange, and there were seen there now "little more than peddlers and fishwomen." There was one spot in the city which must have stirred strongly the feelings of Cornelis Melyn, and that was where a tall crucifix of gilt bronze, marked, according to story, the site of the insulting statue erected half a century before, by order of the bloody Duke of Alva, where he himself, in full armor, was shown as trampling upon two prostrate figures, designed to represent the lords and commons of Flanders. The statue had perished long before in a tumult of the indignant citizens, but the memory of it was not likely soon to fade away in the decaying city.

And yet Antwerp still retained much of its former charm:

"A gilded halo, hovering round decay,"

which had induced John Evelyn, visiting it about this time, to speak of it in his diary as "sweete Antwerp" — "nor did I ever observe a more quiet, cleane, elegantly built and civil place than this magnificent and famous citty of Antwerp." From the well-known station of view across the Scheldt, called, "Het Vlaamshe Hoofd," the Point of Flanders, and seen in a bright afternoon, when the rays of the declining sun threw into light and shadow the quaint carvings of the old mansions, of the churches and public buildings, and of the wonderful spire of the cathedral, towering more than three hundred feet above them all, the city lay stretched along the Scheldt like a gilded pageant.

Within the city, too, still dwelt men of genius and of learning; indeed, in Melyn's day, Antwerp had attained the height of its great artistic fame, and he may have often seen or talked with Rubens, Van Dyke, and Teniers, chief of a long line of predecessors and of followers in the painters' art. Still, whatever pleasant memories might cluster about the old city, its prospects under foreign rule were becoming darker and darker; and Cornelis Melyn, a man of competent means and past his younger years, — he was born about the year 1602, — determined, doubtless not without some pangs, to try his fortunes in the New World. Leaving his family in Europe, he sailed for New Amsterdam in 1639. Here his attention was attracted to the rounded, forest-clad hills and intervalles of Staten Island, and to its wide plains, upon which only one or two grants of land, and those of no great extent, had as yet been made. He sent an application next year to Amsterdam for a grant from the West India Company to himself of the remainder of the island. This was favorably entertained, and he thereupon brought on his family from the Netherlands and set to work vigorously to take the arduous steps necessary for developing his tract. In 1642 he received his ground-brief or patent for the island, upon which he had already established a number of settlers, among whom, as it is supposed, he himself resided.

The period in which Melyn began the clearing for his plantations upon Staten Island was an inauspicious one. The good

understanding which had prevailed between the Dutch and the native Indians for many years after the first settlement of the former had begun to be seriously disturbed as the colonists grew stronger and became more aggressive. It was in the year 1640, and in all probability soon after Melyn had made his application to the West India Company for land upon Staten Island, that a party of Raritan Indians, whose haunts were upon that island and upon the mainland in the vicinity of the river which still bears their name, was charged with having committed some petty depredations upon the plantation of David Pietersen de Vries, who had already commenced a clearing upon the grant of land he had obtained on the island. To punish the savages for this affair (which appears to have been greatly exaggerated, even if the charges were not wholly untrue), Kieft, who seems to have been painfully conscious that he had done nothing as yet to distinguish himself in his office, now determined to send an expedition against these Indians. The party was headed by Secretary Van Tienhoven, whose treacherous and cruel disposition was well adapted for matters of this kind. The force numbered seventy men, and taking the Indians by surprise at their villages — which seem to have been in the neighborhood of the present Perth Amboy, or Woodbridge — they slaughtered several of the savages, and burned the crops in their fields. Van Tienhoven and his band of Dutch warriors returned to New Amsterdam, it is true, unharmed and in high feather after this feat; but the “heathen” Raritans, as Kieft was fond of calling them, were upon one point just about as fully enlightened as their Christian enemies. They understood thoroughly the *lex talionis*, and they had, moreover, abundant opportunities for putting it in practice. They soon found their opportunity, and attacked the lonely plantation of De Vries upon Staten Island, where they killed four of his tobacco planters, destroyed the crops, and fired the buildings. The parties were now in one sense quits; the Indians were henceforth upon their guard, and any further expeditions against them were not likely to be attended by success. In this emergency Kieft bethought himself of hiring

the other Indians to murder the Raritans; the Council makes a report on the 4th of July, 1641: "Wherefore, considering the circumstances, we have adopted the means which seem to us best suited to the emergency, viz.: To secure the help of our Indian allies in their (the Raritans') neighborhood, over whose territory the enemy must cross," — that is, in attempting to reach New Amsterdam, — "and who may stop them in their wild forays, or at least give timely notice of their approach. And in order to encourage them the more, and lure them with greater ardor to espouse our cause, we engaged to pay them, for every head of a Raritan, ten fathoms of sewant," — worth about seventeen dollars of the present currency, — "and for every head of any of those who murdered our people on Staten Island, twenty fathoms of sewant." These measures had little effect except to further enrage the Indians against Kieft and the Dutch. It was under these inauspicious circumstances that Cornelis Melyn began his settlement upon Staten Island.

He seems to have remained unmolested by the Indians for a considerable time, and this was doubtless owing to the numerical strength of his colony. We have no exact information upon this point, but as he had spent large sums of money in furnishing stock and implements, he had undoubtedly secured a goodly number of colonists. At this period he was evidently in harmony with Director-General Kieft, who apparently had private business relations with him. Indeed, it is said that his refusal to admit Kieft to full partnership in his Staten Island venture was one of the causes of the Director-General's bitter hatred of him afterwards, — though this is abundantly explained by other causes.

In the mean time, trouble was threatened in another quarter. This grew out of the murder, in the summer of 1641, of Claes Cornelissen Swits, commonly known as Claes Rade-maker, or Claes the wheelwright, by an Indian of the Weck-quaskeek tribe of Indians, inhabiting the shores of the Hudson, in the lower part of the present Westchester County. The murder is supposed to have been an act of private re-

venge for the slaying and robbery of an uncle of the murderer many years before, by some of the lawless Europeans infesting the settlement, the Indians having failed to obtain any redress from the Dutch authorities. A prompt demand was made upon the tribe for the surrender of the murderer of Claes Cornelissen. This, however, was not complied with, the Indians claiming, probably enough with truth, that he was out of their reach.

At this time, according to the Memorial afterwards presented to the West India Company, on behalf of the people of New Amsterdam, "a hankering after war had wholly seized on the Director," and the affair of Swits seems to have afforded Kieft a long sought for opportunity to carry out his plans. It is rather difficult to understand the tortuous policy of this man. That he was desirous of ridding the vicinity of New Amsterdam of the troublesome native tribes and of getting possession of their lands as one of the fruits of conquest, is quite evident; on the other hand, making due allowance for the blind arrogance so frequently shown in dealings by individuals of a so-called "dominant race" in their dealings with a supposed inferior one, Kieft must have been well aware that acts of violent and wholesale aggression against the Indians would inevitably be resented by them, and that in such case their power of inflicting injury upon the scattered colonists and their farms would be most formidable. It is difficult to reach any other conclusion than that the Director-General meant, from the first, to entrap the neighboring Indians and to exterminate them at one blow, if possible, trusting that, afterwards, distance and dissensions among the tribes would prevent retaliation from the remoter Indians.

The business was by no means an easy one, however. If he succeeded, he might doubtless expect to go down to posterity as a hero and a great promoter of civilization; but, on the other hand, if he should fail, and disastrous results to the colony should ensue, there would be a heavy account to settle with his superiors, the West India Company. Under these circumstances, he craftily determined to try to implicate the

whole body of colonists in the onslaught he was preparing to make upon the Indians, and to make it appear that he was merely acting at their instance and request, thus relieving himself from liability for the bloody experiment. Accordingly, on the 29th of August, 1641, the "heads of families" in New Amsterdam, who had previously had uncommonly little to say about the affairs of the community, were startled by having certain propositions publicly submitted for their discussion by the benevolent Director-General and his Council, to the following effect:

"1. If it is not just that the murder lately committed by a savage upon Claes Swits be avenged; and in case the Indians will not surrender the murderer, if it is not just to destroy the whole village to which he belongs?

"2. When and in what manner this should be executed?

"3. By whom can it be effected?"

The occasion was a momentous one: the citizens met and appointed a committee of twelve, composed of some of the most energetic individuals among them, this committee forming the somewhat celebrated body known as "the Twelve Men;" at their head was Cornelis Melyn. Most of the members of this body were men who had much at stake in the event of hostilities with the natives. They appear to have understood Kieft's design from the first, but their position was a difficult one: if they should advise the Director and Council against attempting to enforce by violence their claims against the Indians, they knew that they would be charged at once with pusillanimity, lack of patriotism, and disaffection to the government by the Director and his Council, following the usual custom of those in authority when their line of governmental action, (no matter how unjust, impracticable, or dangerous it may be), is opposed or criticised by the subject: furthermore, it might have a bad effect upon the natives to place themselves formally upon record as being opposed to the employment of force.

Accordingly, with all these things in view, they drew up, in the fall of the same year, 1641, an answer to the Director's ques-

tions, in which answer considerable astuteness was displayed. In this document the Committee, while assenting to the use of force if necessary against the Indians, recommend many safeguards in the way of peaceable demands, mild demeanor towards the natives, etc., and finally an expedition against them (probably for the purpose of securing hostages), when the Indian warriors should be absent on their hunting expeditions. The sting to the Director-General, however, lay in the following clause: "That as the people recognize no other head than the Director-General, therefore they prefer that he should lead the van, while they, on their part, offer their persons to follow his steps and to obey his commands."

The Director-General had been outwitted: the answer of "the Twelve Men" was coldly received by him, and no measures of importance were taken for a considerable period against the Indians. Melyn and his committee, however, proceeded further, and therein seems to lie their great mistake. In their appointment by the people, though it had really been made only for a special and limited purpose, they thought they saw an opportunity for establishing a popular voice in the affairs of the colony, which had hitherto been entirely lacking. Accordingly, on the 21st of January, 1642, "the Twelve Men" sent in a petition to the Director-General, designating themselves as "Selectmen on behalf of the Commonalty of New Netherland," — and praying for a redress of certain grievances; they requested that "the Council shall from this time be rendered complete in members, especially as the council of a small village in Fatherland consists of five and seven schepens; that, from now henceforth, the Director and Council do not try any criminals, unless five Councillors be present, inasmuch as the Commonalty talk considerably about it;" they further request that representation should be had in the meetings of the Council, "so that taxes may not be imposed on the country in the absence of the Twelve."

Kieft was furious; the body which he had created to further his own crooked designs had not only thwarted him

in them, but now was insolently attempting to interfere in his favorite method of government, which was the absolute control of affairs by himself, with two or three dependent and obsequious councillors to use as "buffers," to protect himself from injury; a few days after the receipt of this petition, he made a brusque order, forbidding "the Twelve Men" from holding any further meetings.¹

Matters ran along in this way until the following winter, when the Weckquaskeek Indians, fleeing before the raid of the Mohawks from the north, sought refuge in the vicinity of New Amsterdam, as has been already noticed.² Kieft was now in high spirits: his long-sought opportunity for exterminating the Indians was at hand; he seems to have persuaded himself that Providence had been playing directly into his hands, but still he did not wish to rely entirely upon Providence; he must have some means of implicating the people at large in the business; but this was not an easy matter, since he had forbidden the committee which they had appointed from holding any meetings, and he knew very well that if he should call them together again, they would in all probability disapprove of a general massacre of the Indians. He concluded, under these circumstances, to adopt what was perhaps one of the most impudent tricks ever devised by men in authority to try to give an appearance of justification to their own unwarrantable acts. There was much public gossip respecting a certain Shrovetide dinner, about this time (February, 1643), at the farmhouse, on Broadway near the present Pine Street, of Jan Damen,—one of the Committee

¹ "February 8th, 1642. — Whereas the Commonalty, at our request, appointed The Twelve to communicate their good counsel and advise on the subject of the murder of Switz, and this being now completed we do hereby thank them for the trouble they have taken, and shall, with God's help, make use of their rendered written advice in its own time. . . . The said twelve men shall now henceforth hold no further meeting, as the same tends to a dangerous consequence and to the great injury, both of the country and our authority. We do therefore hereby forbid them calling any manner of assemblage or meeting, except by our express order, on pain of being punished as disobedient subjects."

² See page 22, *ante*.

of Twelve, — at which were present, with Kieft, Cornelis van Tienhoven, the secretary, and Abraham Verplanck (two of the sons-in-law of Damen), and Maryn Adriaensen, a sort of dependant and debtor of the latter; at this dinner the Shrove pancakes were, it was said, washed down with mysterious toasts to the success of some great enterprise which was on foot.

However this may be, a petition was entered upon the minutes of the Council in the following remarkable terms:

To the Honorable Willem Kieft, Director-General of New Netherland, and his Honorable Council: —

The whole of the freemen respectfully represent that though heretofore much innocent blood was spilled by the savages without having had any reason or cause therefor, yet your Honors made peace on condition that the chiefs should deliver the murderer into our hands (either dead or alive), wherein they have failed up to the present time: the reputation which our nation hath in other countries has thus been diminished, even notwithstanding innocent blood calleth aloud to God for revenge; we therefore request your Honors to be pleased to authorize us to attack the Indians as enemies, whilst God hath delivered them into our hands; for which purpose we offer our persons. This can be effected at one place by the freemen, and at the other by the soldiers.

Your Honor's Subjects,

(Signed) MARYN ADRIAENSEN

JAN JANSEN DAMEN

ABM PLANCK.

(Lower stood)

By their authority

CORNS VAN TIENHOVEN, *Secretary*.

The savage massacre of the Indians followed, and then the swift retaliation upon the Dutch, which in the course of a few months reduced the thirty or forty farmhouses on Manhattan Island to four or five which still remained standing, and which drove in the survivors of the Indian depredations to dwell in "huts of straw" around Fort Amsterdam. The number of colonists at Cornelis Melyn's settlement upon

Staten Island seems to have retarded its fate for a time. It was still unattacked as late as October, 1643, though "hourly expecting an assault," — which soon afterwards came, and left it a desolate waste. Melyn had, in the mean time, removed his family to New Amsterdam, and sought out a place of abode there.

East of "the Ditch" in Broad Street lay a low rise of land along the East River; towards the shore, it terminated in a crumbling bank of no great height, above the stony beach, and at a distance of about two hundred and fifty feet back from the shore, it fell away into a low and damp depression, which formed an easterly arm to the swamp occupying the vicinity of Broad Street, and which was called, in the early days of the colony, "Blommaert's Vly," as has already been stated. Along the middle of this low ridge, the officers of the Company had established the road leading out from the bridge to the ferry to Long Island. It soon acquired the name of Hoogh Straet, — the High Street; after the surrender to the English in 1664, it gradually came to be called Duke's Street, in honor of the Duke of York; and at present it forms the easterly portion of Stone Street, being nearly a continuation of the street originally known by that name. Upon the south side of this street, just west of the present Coenties Alley, and situated well back towards the shore, the Director and Council had erected, in 1641, the commodious building known as the Great Tavern, afterwards in part used as the Town Hall, of which further notice will be taken hereafter. From the present Broad Street to the Great Tavern, all the land lying between the Hoogh Straet and the shore had been taken up, at an early date, by two individuals, one of whom was Burger Jorissen, a man of prominence in the town, who had built a house here, and received a ground-brief for it in 1643; he occupied a plot of about one hundred and thirty-five English feet frontage, next adjoining the tavern. The other occupant was located upon a much smaller plot, about at the corner of the present Broad Street; this was one Eben Reddenhaus, a German from the principality of Waldeck,

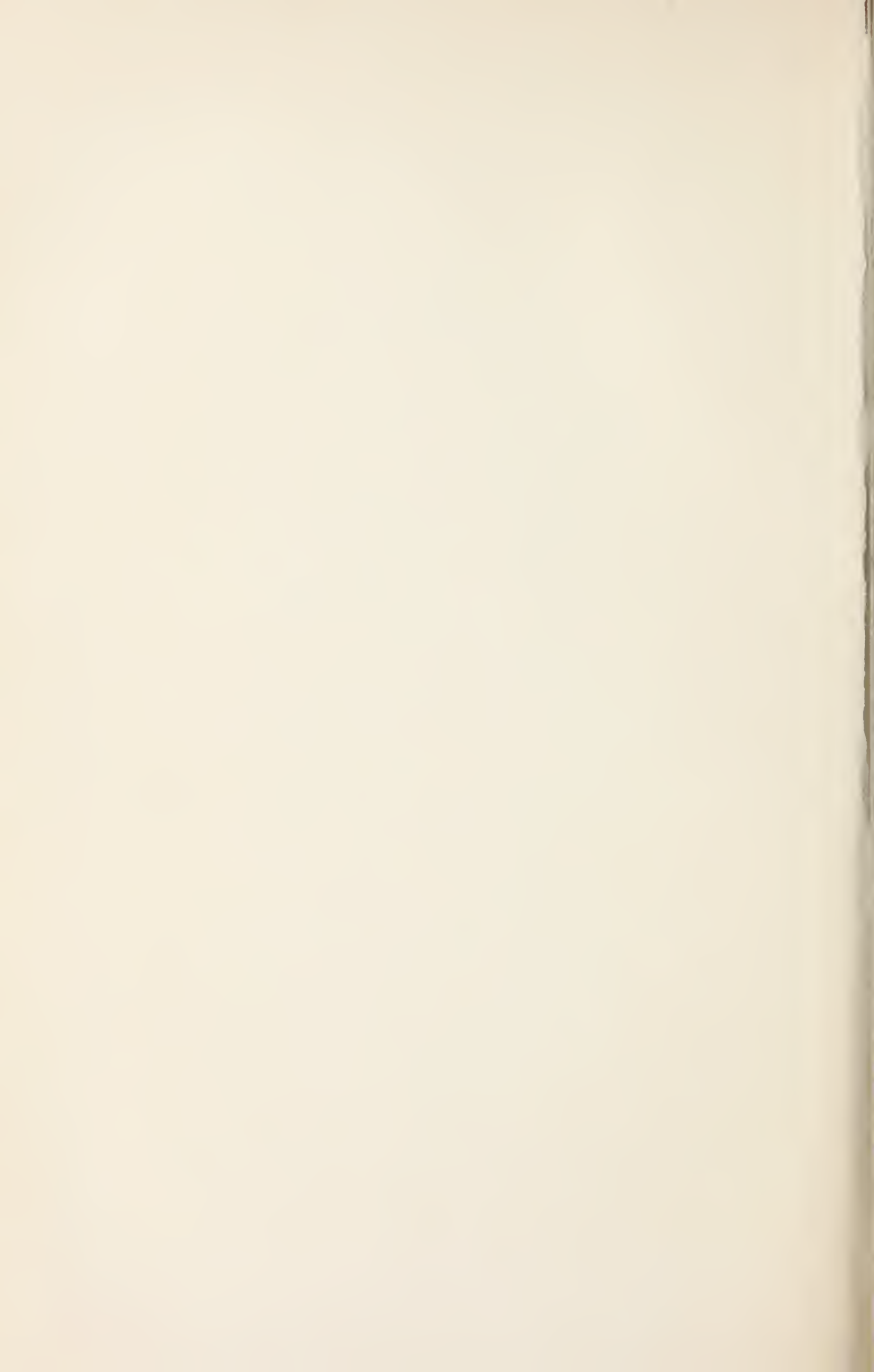
THE EAST RIVER SHORE NEAR THE "GRAFT," 1652.
 Enlarged from the *Justus Dauckers and Visscher Views of New Amsterdam*.



- AA. Houses on the Marckveldt.
 BB. Mill of the "Five Mills."
 CC. Rear of the "Five Mills."
 DD. Brewery of West India Co.
 EE. Old Church.
 FF. Old Parsonage (Hendr. Jansen Smit.).

- GG. Hendr. Hendricksen Kip.
 HH. Anthony Jansen van Vees.
 II. Hendr. Jansen Smit.
 JJ. Hendr. Jansen Smit.
 KK. Hendr. Jansen Smit.
 LL. Jacob Wophertsen van Conwenhoven.

- MM. Cornelis Molyn.
 NN. Capt. Tochem Pietersen Kuyter.
 OO. Silhout Claessen.
 PP. Cornelis van Hienhoven (aft. Jacob Steendam).
 QQ. Adriaen Vincent.



who had recently (in 1641) married in New Amsterdam, and built a house here, but who died soon afterwards. There remained but one more available parcel along the river in this vicinity, and that one covered the end of the present Broad Street, at that time (as already stated) not designed to be kept open as a street. Of this parcel, Cornelis Melyn received a ground-brief in 1643; it was about sixty-two English feet in front along the road, which with the bridge lay north of it, and it extended in depth about eighty-eight English feet to the river shore; through it the stream or ditch from Blommaerts Vly ran into the East River.

Here, then, Cornelis Melyn built his house, evidently a modest one, designed only for occasional use in troublesome times. It would appear to have been a two-story house of small size; in all probability built of brick. This house was removed about 1657, when the authorities determined to change the ditch in Broad Street into a "Graft," or canal, with a roadway on each side of the same; its location appears to have been in the easterly half of the present Broad Street, midway between Stone and Pearl streets. Desiring to control more land in this vicinity than his original small plot, Melyn bought, in August, 1644, from the widow of Eben Reddenhaus, for the sum of 250 guilders, or about \$100, her house and ground, and in December of the same year, from Burger Jorissen, his house and larger parcel for 950 guilders, or \$380, so that he now owned all the land along the river from "the Ditch" to the City Tavern.

Melyn's residence in New Amsterdam, taken in conjunction with the forlorn condition of the colonists, seems to have stimulated him to more active exertions. In the fall of 1643, he, with his associates, then known from their number as "the Eight Men," addressed Memorials both to the States-General of the Netherlands and to the West India Company, setting forth the melancholy state of their affairs, and depicting in vivid colors the ravages of the Indians; they tell how "daily in our houses and fields have they cruelly murdered men and women, and with hatchets and tomahawks struck little chil-

dren dead in their parents' arms or before their doors, or carried them away into bondage ; the houses and grain barracks are burnt with the produce ; cattle of all descriptions are slain and destroyed, and such as remain must perish this approaching winter for want of fodder. Almost every place is abandoned. . . . We wretched people must skulk with wives and little ones that still survive in poverty together, in and around the fort at the Mannhattans, where we are not safe even for an hour." These Memorials, however, contained something in the nature of a threat, which, while it was natural enough under the circumstances, was probably not well advised : "Should suitable assistance not arrive (contrary to our expectations), we shall through necessity, in order to save the lives of those who remain, be obliged to betake ourselves to the English at the East, who would like nothing better than to possess this place." These suggestions, though possibly they may not have had much effect upon the members of the States-General, seem to have sunk deeply into the minds of some of the Directors of the West India Company, and to have created with them a prejudice against the memorialists, which afterwards bore bitter fruit for the latter.

In the mean time, Kieft had been bestirring himself to clear away the odium for the Indian massacre from his name, and to make it appear that it had been the work of the people, in opposition to his own personal views ; and he had sent accordingly to the West India Company a pamphlet containing a résumé of the whole affair, which pamphlet, according to Dominie Bogardus, "contained more lies than lines." The effrontery of the man was so amazing that in 1644 Melyn and his associates determined to send a private communication or memorial to the West India Company directing their attention to the falsehoods which Kieft was endeavoring to disseminate. This document, bearing date 28th October, 1644, though drawn up under circumstances of great provocation, contained much vituperation of Kieft and his advisers, and proved to be the source of much trouble for Cornelis Melyn, who was considered, probably with justice, as having been its author.

Although the proceedings of "the Eight Men" were conducted with secrecy, and though Kieft does not appear to have been aware for a considerable period of the communication of 1644 to the West India Company, there seems to have been early manifested a bad state of feeling on his part towards Cornelis Melyn, which displayed itself in various petty annoyances towards the latter. In 1645, he was charged by the fiscal with having sold wine to the Indians, but nothing appears to have come of the affair. Melyn had at this time leased about two acres of ground from the officers of the Company, covering the site of the present Trinity Church and the northern portion of the churchyard, and extending to the river bank. This he employed for the purpose of raising grain, evidently for his family use. On the 31st of May, 1646, Kieft and his Council, pettishly alleging that Melyn, "having planted and fenced a piece of land north of the Company's garden, taking in more ground than belonged to him, sweeping away with a curve behind said garden, and making use of the sods and earth of the Company's soil for security of said land," ordered that "he may cut his grain, and then deliver up the Company's ground in the same condition as in the Spring."

In the mean time, Cornelis Melyn acquired, at about this period, a neighbor who was to prove a faithful ally to him, and whose fortunes were to be bound up together with his own for several years to come. This was the worthy Captain Jochem Pietersen Kuyter, an ex-sea-captain in the Danish service, and one of the pioneers of the settlement at Harlem.

The humble cottage of Eben Reddenhaus, which had been bought by Melyn, as above stated, and which stood near the northeast corner of the present Pearl and Broad streets, was in a short time sold by him to one Seger Teunissen. This man was soon afterwards killed by the Indians, and upon the West India Company's officers taking charge of his property, they found in a trading "yacht" belonging to him certain goods which had not been entered with the revenue officials. Kieft, in pursuance of his usual arbitrary course of

conduct, and, as was claimed, without any form of trial, and in disregard of the rights of Teunissen's widow, immediately ordered his property to be confiscated and sold; and it is supposed that it was under these proceedings that the house on the shore of the East River was purchased by Jochem Pietersen Kuyter, who took up his residence there, after his farmhouse near the Harlem River had been destroyed by the Indians in 1644.

Jochem Pietersen Kuyter was a native of the District of Dithmarschen, that portion of the Duchy of Holstein which lies on the German Ocean, between the mouths of the Elbe and the Eyder rivers, the broad flat meadows of which district, well stocked with the black and white cattle of the country, the passenger, coming down the Elbe from Hamburg, may see stretching away to his right.

There was much in the situation and prospects of Kuyter that was similar to those of Cornelis Melyn. Like the latter, he was a man of education and of some means, who had come over in the year 1639, well furnished with cattle, implements, and labor for commencing a plantation on a fairly large scale. As an energetic colonizer, in the prime of his activity, — he was born about 1597, — he was much courted and favored by the West India Company, which desired to attract such men to its colony. With him came his friend Jonas Bronck, from whose bouwery north of the Harlem, the Bronx River, which flowed near it, received its name, and thence the important division of New York City known as the Borough of the Bronx. With his farmers and herdsmen, Kuyter settled on the opposite side of the Harlem River from his friend Jonas Bronck, upon a tract of nearly four hundred acres of fine farming land, of which he had obtained a grant from the West India Company. This tract stretched along the Harlem River from about the present One Hundred and Twenty-seventh to One Hundred and Fortieth streets, and was commonly known, long after his memory had faded away among men, as "Jochem Pieter's Flats;" Kuyter himself called it "Zegendaal," or "Vale of Blessing." Although much of his

time away from the settlement and at the other end of Manhattan Island, he interested himself in the progress of the village, and in 1642 was one of the "kerkmeesters" chosen to oversee the erection of the new church in the fort; not, says Riker in his "History of Harlem," without an eye to the services of his workmen, "who were skilled and would prepare the timber." By this time his plantation was well established and was yielding good returns of tobacco. Conscious of its exposed position, he, like most of the Board of Twelve Men (of which he was a member), was averse to using violent measures with the Indians, and he foretold to Kieft the quick retribution which would ensue for their massacre. His own bouwery house, being well palisaded about, escaped the first devastations of the Indians, but on the 5th of March, 1644, he being then absent from the farm, the buildings, though guarded, were set on fire in the night and destroyed by the savages.

Like Melyn, Kuyter was now forced to seek an abode for himself in the village of New Amsterdam, and in this way apparently he came to purchase the small house at the corner of Broad and Pearl streets, already spoken of. Henceforth, he and Cornelis Melyn were closely associated in their relations towards Kieft and towards his successor, Director-General Stuyvesant.

This latter person, who had taken the place of Kieft by appointment from the West India Company in 1646, had been long looked for, and in May, 1647, he arrived at New Amsterdam. Most of the inhabitants of the town were assembled on Schreyers Hoek and at the little dock when the new Director-General landed; and they accompanied him to the fort, where Kieft was ready to surrender the government. In doing so, he, with great assurance, thanked the citizens for the attachment and fidelity they had always shown to him, and requested their formal indorsement of his administration. On all sides a loud shout of dissent went up from the crowd, half of whom, probably, had been ruined as the result of his atrocious Indian policy; and Melyn and Kuyter declared

roundly that they had nothing to thank him for, and no approval to give.

This scene seems to have made a deep impression upon one person at least, and that one was the new Director-General. It was not that he approved of Kieft's conduct toward the Indians; on the contrary, he believed in giving the latter just and conciliatory treatment, not so much, in all probability, on account of the absolute right of the matter, but by reason of the power possessed by the natives of doing harm to the colony. Like most despotical-minded men placed in positions of considerable power, however, Stuyvesant entertained a profound jealousy of those who would be likely to criticise his acts or to attempt to thwart his will, and such men he saw at once in Cornelis Melyn and in Jochem Pietersen Kuyter, and he undoubtedly entered upon his administration with a hearty hatred of them.

His hatred was not long in showing itself. Within a few days after Kieft had delivered up his office, Melyn and Kuyter, as representatives of the old board known as "the Eight Men," brought a formal complaint against Kieft, and asked for an inquiry into the abuses of his late government, and respecting his treatment of the Indians. They received a prompt answer from Stuyvesant that he considered the denials of the late Director-General as of more weight than any evidence his antagonists could bring to support their charges; he would recognize them in no political capacity, but considered them merely as "perturbators of the public peace." The Director-General and Council accordingly declined to entertain their complaint.

Melyn and Kuyter had in fact ventured upon very dangerous ground. Unwittingly they had come before a magistrate as thoroughly prejudiced as any judge that ever sat upon a bench of justice, ministering to his own interests and passions while making pretences of doing equity. At the time of their private communication to the West India Company, respecting Kieft, in October, 1644, Peter Stuyvesant had been admitted as one of the Directors of that Company. No direct

action appears to have been taken in the matter by the West India Company, but when Stuyvesant came from the Netherlands in the spring of 1647, he brought to Kieft a copy of the letter of "the Eight Men," which seems to have been the first information Kieft had received of that communication. Thoroughly enraged, and very sure of his judge, Kieft, on June 19, 1647, brought criminal charges against Melyn and Kuyter for libel and for inducing the rest of "the Eight Men" to join in a false statement to the West India Company. Small grace was allowed to the accused men by Stuyvesant. They were ordered to file their answer to the charges within twenty-four hours. A small extension of time must have been granted to them, however, for their answer bears date June 22, 1647. In this document they boldly reiterate the charges, and offer to bring forward the four survivors of the "Board of Eight Men," to testify that as a matter of fact they had signed the charges against Kieft of their own will, and not through any influence of the persons accused. In reply to Kieft's demand that they should be sent to the Netherlands "as pests and seditious persons," they aver their willingness to go there "as good patriots and proprietors in New Netherland." Stuyvesant's previous conduct had taught them what they had to expect from him, and they made no attempt to conciliate him; on the contrary, their answer contains a most cutting as well as just allusion to "the meanness and cowardice of those in authority who insult those who dare not answer them." They had undoubtedly determined, in anticipation of Stuyvesant's decision, to carry their cause before the States-General of the Netherlands.

The decision of Stuyvesant and his Council was not long delayed. On the 25th of July, 1647, Jochem Pietersen Kuyter, one of whose atrocious acts consisted in "raising his finger in a threatening manner" to Kieft, was sentenced to three years' banishment and a fine of 150 guilders; while Melyn was found guilty of an assortment of crimes, embracing treason, bearing false witness, and libel and defamation; he was sentenced to seven years' banishment and a fine of

300 guilders; Stuyvesant was exceedingly loath to let Melyn escape out of his clutches, and pleaded hard in the Council for a sentence of death upon him, citing in support of his views many pedantic quotations from the Hebrew and Roman Law; but the Council, though disposed to be sufficiently obsequious, could not be brought to vote for the death penalty. Stuyvesant, in fact, seems to have had some forebodings of future trouble from Melyn and Kuyter, but as they could not be legally put to death, and as it would have been a constant source of danger to have kept them in confinement in New Amsterdam, where they were both very popular, he had to let them go, contenting himself with malignantly observing to Melyn, "If I were persuaded you would appeal from my sentences, or divulge them, I would have your head cut off, or have you hanged on the highest tree in New Netherland."

Did these things bring to the mind of Cornelis Melyn the statue of Alva at Antwerp with his foot upon the necks of the Estates of Flanders? It was an old story! This petty despot in the fort at New Amsterdam only showed the same traits, upon his small stage, as the tyrants whom the men of the Low Countries had fought for generations upon a larger field. Stuyvesant's notions of authority were only those of the Count of Flanders:

"The Lion stirred and awoke with a snort,
And he swelled with rage till his breath came short:
'Ere the brown leaf meet with the flake of snow
On the roundabout stair, to Ghent I'll go.

" 'For a little bird sang, and I dreamed as well,
That the men of Ghent were as false as hell;
Coming by stealth when naught I feared,
They trod on my toes and pulled my beard.'

"Ere a snowflake fell, the Lion he went,
And he roared a roar at the Gates of Ghent;
The gates they shook, though they were fast barred,
And the warders heard it at Oudenarde.

"At the very first roar, ten thousand men
Fell sick to death; he roared again,
And the blood of twenty thousand flowed
By the bridge of Roone, as broad as the road.

“Wo worth thee, Ghent! if having heard
The first and second, thou bidest the third.
Flat stones and awry, grass, potsherd, and shard, —
Thy place shall be like an old churchyard.”

Only about three weeks remained for Melyn and Kuyter to settle their affairs, to make ready such documents as they could with safety, to lay before the States-General upon the appeal which they had determined to make, and to prepare for their long absence, if unsuccessful in their endeavors. The ship “Princess,” upon which they must depart, lay in the harbor taking in her cargo, and was announced to sail about the middle of August. The intervening time doubtless witnessed many long and earnest consultations at the two small houses between “the ditch” and the river shore. On the 11th of July of this year, 1647, Melyn had made a deed (probably in anticipation of the storm which was brewing) of his house in the present Broad Street to his eldest daughter, Cornelia, who on April 30 of the same year had married Captain Jacob Loper, a Swede of Stockholm by birth, but who for some time had held a naval appointment in the Dutch service.

Finally, on the 17th of August, 1647, Melyn and Kuyter, together with Kieft, Dominie Bogardus, and several other prominent characters of New Amsterdam, sailed from that town as previously mentioned,¹ on the fatal voyage of the “Princess,” Melyn being accompanied by a young son. The voyage could not have been marked by much cordiality between the ex-Director-General and the men whom he had harassed by his prosecutions; but when the “Princess” struck upon the rocks near Swansea, the near approach of death seems to have had an illuminating effect upon the mind of Kieft: “Friends,” he said, with a sigh, to Kuyter and Melyn, “I have been unjust towards you; can you forgive me?”

Cornelis Melyn was one of the few who escaped death in the shipwreck, but his son was drowned. As for Kuyter, he

¹ See *ante*, page 27.

told how he had lashed himself to a portion of the after deck of the vessel, and how when the first dim light broke after that night of horror, he had discovered himself to be alone upon the floating fragment, except for what he took to be another person likewise lashed fast. Speaking, and receiving no answer, he concluded that the man was dead; it turned out to be a cannon, which with the wreck and Kuyter was thrown by the violent surf upon the beach, where, breaking from its lashings it was found, — to their utmost amazement, — by the miners of Glamorgan and Caermarthen shires, who crowded to the spot as soon as it was day, and who afterwards set up the cannon as a memorial of the wonderful event.

Melyn and Kuyter afterwards caused the sea in the vicinity of the wreck to be dragged for their chests, and in this way they were fortunate enough to recover a portion of their valuable papers. Reaching the Netherlands from England towards the close of the year 1647, they immediately proceeded to lay their case before the States-General, at the Hague. They found that body favorably disposed towards them;¹ their misfortunes had attracted public attention to them to a much greater degree than they were likely otherwise to have received; furthermore, the government of the Netherlands was by no means averse from exercising a revision over the affairs of the West India Company; and the whole prosecution of the criminal proceedings had been disposed of with such manifest injustice toward the condemned persons that the States-General acted with little delay, and on the 28th of April, 1648, it issued an order, in the form of a mandamus, permitting an appeal to be had by Melyn and Kuyter from the criminal judgments pronounced against them by Director Stuyvesant and his Council, ordering a suspension of all proceedings under said judgments,

¹ Much more so than were the Directors of the West India Company, who on April 7, 1648, wrote to Stuyvesant: "Cornelis Melyn is well known to us, and we shall understand how to refute his complaint. It is to be regretted that people have become so intimate with such fellows, when they ought to have given a good example to others," — referring doubtless to his supporters in the States-General.

and summoning Stuyvesant to appear before them to justify his acts. Under the procedure of the Dutch law, such orders were required to be served by a messenger of the States-General, or by a marshal or notary; but to avoid the inconvenience of this in the present case, a special order was made allowing the service on Stuyvesant to be made by any person whom Melyn and Kuyter might appoint. It was arranged that Melyn should return to New Amsterdam with the order of the States-General, while Kuyter should remain, to be prepared for any treachery or exertion of arbitrary power on the part of Director-General Stuyvesant. In order to further guard against such danger, Melyn also procured a letter of safety for himself, directed to Stuyvesant, from the Stadtholder of the United Provinces personally, — William II., Prince of Orange, father of the great politician best known to us as William III., King of England.

Armed with these documents, Melyn sailed in the winter of 1648-49, apparently landing at Boston, and thence travelling through New England to New Amsterdam. He was naturally exultant at his victory over the Director-General, and seems to have shown some lack of discretion, exhibiting his papers from the Netherlands in several places, and talking in rather a high strain. At New Haven he met one of his townsmen, Eghbert van Borsum, who afterwards made a deposition that Melyn had said "that the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the United Netherlands, were greatly surprised that the English had not forcibly dragged Director Stuyvesant out of the Fort, and hung him on the highest tree; also that he had brought Kieft to his grave and that he would bring Stuyvesant also there:" there was other talk, according to the informant, but he went away, "so that he might no longer listen to the prattle."

Upon his arrival at New Amsterdam in March, 1649, Melyn took care to revenge himself upon the Director-General for the insults he had previously received from him by having as many of the citizens of New Amsterdam as he could get together present to witness the mortification of that

official when the order of the States-General was served upon him: he even attempted to lengthen out the torture of his arbitrary and crestfallen opponent by reading aloud to him the contents of the document, but this Stuyvesant prevented by angrily snatching the paper from him, — no doubt to the great delight of the crowd; he, however, sullenly announced his intention of respecting the orders of the Prince of Orange and of the States-General.

In the mean time, encouraged by the results of the application of Melyn and Kuyter to the States-General, the jurist Adriaen van der Donck, in conjunction with several other opponents of the administration at New Amsterdam, prepared in July, 1649, the historic document known as "The Remonstrance of New Netherland." This vigorous paper, attacking the whole policy of the West India Company in relation to its colony of New Netherland, was carried over to the Fatherland by a deputation including Van der Donck and Melyn. Their departure was hastened by the fact that the Director-General had quietly sent over the Secretary Van Tienhoven to represent him before the States-General. The Secretary probably carried with him a letter from Stuyvesant to that body, bearing date Aug. 10, 1649, ostensibly for the purpose of acknowledging the receipt of their mandamus, but in reality filled with insinuations against Cornelis Melyn. Two weeks after the departure of Van Tienhoven the deputation sailed, — probably by the next vessel, — and for the second time Melyn watched the house of his family near the East River shore fade away in the distance; he left them behind him, to be subjected to various petty annoyances from the Director-General. In the summer of the year 1649, Melyn's son-in-law, Captain Loper, applied for permission to trade in the South or Delaware River, but although the Council was in favor of granting the application, Stuyvesant sullenly refused to do so, giving no other reason than that he had received express orders from his superiors "to keep an eye on Cornelis Melyn." "We wish," says Janneken, the wife of Cornelis Melyn, in a letter to her husband, dated December

17, 1649, "that God would be pleased to send the delegates back quickly, with business accomplished, for here matters continue so bad as to excite murmurs against Heaven."

Matters, however, did not move quickly; the management and even the future existence of the West India Company itself were now in question before the States-General, and although that corporation had much declined from its former power, it had still sufficient resources to make a vigorous fight in its own behalf and in that of its officers. To the charges made by Van der Donck, Melyn, and others, it sent to the States-General on the 27th of January, 1650, an answer couched in bitter terms against the petitioners.¹ Following the practice adopted by the States-General, all matters relating in any way to the West India Company were referred, in the first instance, to a standing committee upon the affairs of that body, there sometimes to slumber a long while. Melyn seems to have become wearied of the delays, and on the 8th of February, 1650, he complains to the States-General that owing to the absence from New Amsterdam of the Secretary, and to the obstacles thrown in his way by the authorities at that place, he has been unable to obtain certain papers necessary for his suit; and he prays that august body to take into consideration the fact that he "hath now groped such a length of time, since the year 1643, in this labyrinth, without any error or fault of his, for the advancement of the public interests."

The records which are accessible fail to show the final result of the appeal of Melyn and Kuyter to the States-General from Stuyvesant's arbitrary judgments, but whether these were finally overturned or not, no further molestation to those persons appears to have ever taken place by reason of them, and both Kuyter and Melyn were now anxious to return to New Netherland and to take advantage of the quiet now prevailing with the Indians, to restore their wasted plantations.

¹ The malignant disposition of the officers of the West India Company towards Melyn, Kuyter, and Van der Donck, — especially towards Melyn, — are shown in almost every letter sent by them to New Netherland about this time.

In his long sojourn at the Hague, Cornelis Melyn had been frequently brought into contact with a person of some note in the government at that period. It has been already stated that the papers relating to the affairs of the West India Company which were presented to the States-General were referred in the first instance to a standing committee of that body. At the head of this committee was Henryk van der Capellen: this gentleman was a deputy to the States-General from the county of Zutphen, and was a member of the Dutch nobility, being Lord of Esselt and Hasselt, near the east shore of the Zuyder Zee. He is frequently spoken of in the documents relating to New Netherland by his title of Baron van der Capellen tho Ryssel, and was a man of independent fortune.¹ The Baron van der Capellen appears to have taken a lively interest in the affairs of Cornelis Melyn, and not only did he forward the interests of the latter in the reports of his committee to the States-General, but he finally entered into an agreement with him for the improvement and development of his Staten Island manor, or rather patroonship, in which Van der Capellen purchased an interest.

The associates now made active preparations for carrying on the work of improvement. Van der Capellen purchased, in the summer of 1650, a ship called *Nieuw Nederlandsche Fortuyn*,—The Fortune of New Netherland,—which he designed to send over to his colony; the vessel sailed for New Amsterdam in the fall or winter of that year, carrying a superintendent, carpenter, seven farmers, and a company of

¹ In an interesting communication respecting the ancient Van der Capellen family, Mr. Arnold J. F. van Laer, of the manuscript department in the State Library at Albany and formerly of Utrecht in the Netherlands, observes: "This is one of our prominent historic families, having played an important part in the eighty years' war with Spain. They were originally from France, where they received, as early as the eleventh and twelfth centuries, favors from the court; and the house, in which the title of baron has been used for centuries, is to this day closely allied with the oldest families in the country." Henryk van der Capellen, referred to in the text, is understood to have died in 1659, leaving no descendants; it is uncertain whether his Staten Island estate was surrendered to the West India Company, or whether it was confiscated by the English, in the hands of his collateral heirs in 1664, as being the property of subjects of the Netherlands.

seventy persons in all, with their necessary equipment, for the colony. With them returned Cornelis Melyn, who on the preceding July 1 had received from the States-General letters of protection against his inveterate enemy Stuyvesant.¹

The ship "Fortune," forced by stress of weather, touched at the Rhode Island Colony, and thence pursued her voyage to New Amsterdam; by this deviation from her course, she had, it was claimed, infringed upon some of the customs regulations; and the Director-General grasped with avidity the opportunity of revenging himself upon Cornelis Melyn, whom

¹ It may not be out of place here to give some account of the further progress of the proceedings before the States-General against Director-General Stuyvesant and the West India Company, in the investigation sought for by Adriaen van der Donck and his associates in the "Remonstrance" of 1649. On the 9th of August, 1650, the committee of the States-General reported that the matters alleged ought to be inquired into, and that Cornelis van Tienhoven, Stuyvesant's secretary and representative, then in the Netherlands, should be examined upon interrogatories. That wily individual, after having upon the 29th of November, 1650, delivered a scurrilous reply to the "Remonstrance," managed to evade an examination till the latter part of the winter of 1650-51, when it was found that he was preparing to return to New Amsterdam. Thereupon the States-General, on February 7, 1651, made an order that he should not leave the country till he had answered certain prepared interrogatories; and on March 14 a further order was served upon him and Jan Jansen Damen, his father-in-law, who had accompanied him from New Amsterdam as Stuyvesant's private agent, to appear for examination before the legislative body. The parties concerned, well assured of the backing of the West India Company, coolly set at defiance the mandate of the States-General. Jan Damen, bearing with him a deed from the West India Company to himself, as agent for Petrus Stuyvesant, of "the company's great bouwery" (well known for nearly two hundred years as the Stuyvesant Farm, on Manhattan Island), which deed bore date March 12, 1651, immediately sailed for New Amsterdam, as the secretary of the company calmly notified the States-General, on the 21st of that month. Much irritated, the States-General now ordered the Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company not to allow Van Tienhoven to leave Amsterdam, and to notify the skipper of their ship "Waterhont," by which he was preparing to depart, not to receive him till he had obtained their permit. This order was treated with the same contempt as the former one, and on May 5, Van Tienhoven set sail for New Amsterdam. The matter appears to have now been allowed to drop. That such disregard of the authority of the States-General was suffered, appears to have been partly owing to the dislike of the States-General to interfere in provincial matters, partly owing to the ill-defined limits of its authority, and partly owing to the inexpediency of exciting hostile feelings or dissensions in the then threatening state of affairs between the United Provinces and England.

he affected to consider as a concealed partner in the enterprise. He proceeded in the most arbitrary manner; the crew of the "Fortune" were arrested and thrown into prison, and the vessel was condemned and sold. Stuyvesant had, however, in this matter, attacked a person who was too influential to be assailed thus with impunity. The Baron van der Capellen immediately instituted proceedings before the States-General against the West India Company for the illegal seizure of his vessel; he was awarded heavy damages, and the Company had to pay roundly for the privilege of maintaining their despotic servant in his office at New Amsterdam.

As for Melyn himself, we do not find that he actually came in person at this time into the clutches of Stuyvesant, and there is reason to believe that instead of coming up to the town on the incoming vessel, he landed at his "manor" upon Staten Island. The men of Melyn's colony, and those of his partner, Van der Capellen, must have made quite a considerable force, and Stuyvesant does not appear to have considered it advisable to make any hostile incursion against him.¹ His property in New Amsterdam, however, embracing what remained of his purchases of 1644, and extending along the river shore from near the present Broad Street to the City Tavern, at the head of the present Coenties Slip, was confiscated by Stuyvesant's orders. A portion of it, adjoining the tavern, was added to the ground of that establishment, and the remainder was divided into four parcels extending from "the road," or the present Stone Street, to the river shore, and these were granted to various persons in September, 1651.

Cornelis Melyn now continued to reside for several years upon his Staten Island estate, not venturing, according to statements made by some of his contemporaries, to set his foot in New Amsterdam. His neighbor and friend, Jochem Pietersen Kuyter, had made his peace with Stuyvesant, whom with two others he had admitted in 1651 into joint ownership with

¹ Melyn is also stated to have kept, at this time, a large number of Indians — more than a hundred in fact — in his service. As these statements come from his enemies, however, they must be accepted with caution.

himself in his plantation on the Harlem flats, where he was now actively engaged in restoring his impaired fortunes ; but in 1654 he was murdered by the Indians at Harlem. Kuyter's widow soon married Willem Jansen, the farmer or superintendent of the Harlem plantation, but during the Indian outbreak in the fall of 1655 she too was killed by the natives. Kuyter left no children, and his small house at the corner of Broad and Pearl streets stood for several years vacant and ownerless, a melancholy memorial of the Indian troubles. Finally, the crumbling away of the river-bank in front of it led to action by the magistrates, and a "curator" was appointed, who, on January 12, 1658, sold the house at public auction to Hendrick Jansen Vandervin.

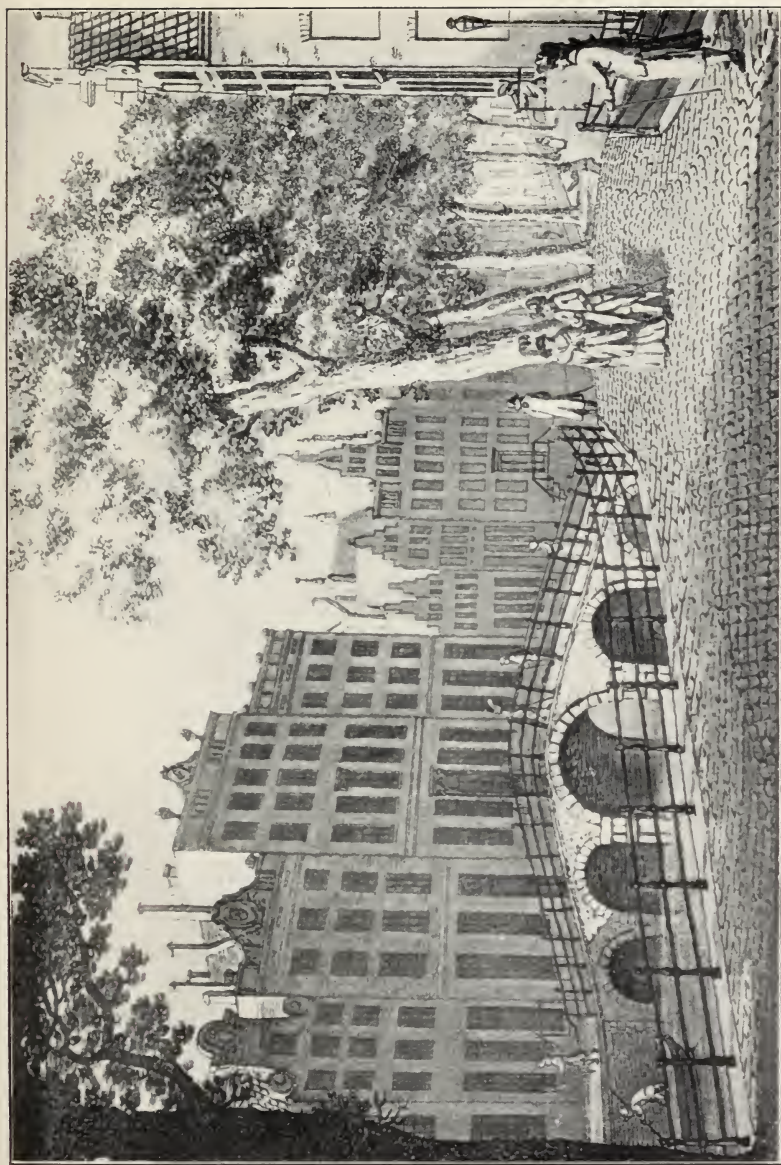
As for Cornelis Melyn, we find that in the summer of 1655 he was a prisoner in New Amsterdam ; but of the circumstances leading to this imprisonment, we have no information. On the 31st of August of that year, upon a petition of Melyn's wife, asking that her husband might be removed to a more convenient place, "on account of his sore leg," the Council made an order that she might be permitted to remove him to a more convenient place, "in the City Hall, or elsewhere," on condition that he should furnish bail. At this very time, Director-General Stuyvesant was busy in fitting out the force with which, on the 5th of September of this year, he started against the Swedes on the Delaware ; and it is difficult to avoid the suspicion that he had availed himself of his military preparations for the purpose of getting his old adversary into his power.

However this may be, Melyn must have soon returned to his colony upon Staten Island, for there, in the course of the Indian hostilities which followed the outbreak of September 15, 1655, at New Amsterdam, he and several members of his family were made captives by the Indians, and his plantation was again destroyed. This misfortune was the ruin of Melyn's prospects upon Staten Island, which was left by the natives, according to the report of Secretary Van Tienhoven, "without an inhabitant or a house." The Indians, upon

this occasion, seem, as a rule, to have treated their prisoners without much harshness, and soon delivered them up for a moderate ransom.

No further particulars respecting the prosecution of Cornelis Melyn by the New Amsterdam authorities have come to our notice, but it is evident that he soon abandoned the colony. In the early part of 1657, he and his son Jacob, having repaired to New Haven, there took the oath of allegiance to the English government. He subsequently went again to the Netherlands, and there, in June, 1659, for the sum of 1500 guilders, he surrendered his patroonship of Staten Island to the West India Company. After the fall of Stuyvesant and the capitulation to the English in 1664, Jacob Melyn returned to New York, and resided there for a number of years. His father, Cornelis Melyn, was still residing in New Haven in 1662, but the time of his death is uncertain.

The remaining members of Cornelis Melyn's family seem to have still resided at the house in the easterly half of the present Broad Street, which, in 1647, he had given to his daughter Cornelia: her first husband, Captain Jacob Loper, had died prior to 1653, and she married in that year Jacob Schellinger, a merchant of Amsterdam, who was carrying on business in New Netherland, and who, after the retirement of Cornelis Melyn, became the mainstay of the family. Jannetje, the wife of Melyn, and his daughter Cornelia and her husband were for several years engaged in frequent litigations with Captain Adriaen Pos, the agent of Melyn's co-partner, the Baron van der Capellen, respecting the division of the Staten Island property, and the settlement of various conflicting claims in connection therewith; but it does not appear that Cornelis Melyn, for the space of nearly five years, again set foot in New Amsterdam, to encounter his old enemy, Director-General Stuyvesant, — "a tyrant, as we have now and then been accused by the ignorant," as he complacently remarks of himself. Melyn was certainly in New Amsterdam in 1661, however, no doubt protected by his English citizenship.



THE HEERE GRAFT, AMSTERDAM, 1795.
From an aqua-tint engraving in Ireland's "Tour through Holland."



The Melyn house in Broad Street did not remain long in existence after its builder had quitted it. After the Indian troubles of 1655 had in some measure subsided, it was decided to open up and to regulate several streets, in order to afford accommodation to the increasing number of those who desired to build in the town. One of the changes proposed in the early part of 1656 was to widen and deepen "The Ditch," so as to form a canal navigable for small boats, with a sufficient roadway on each side of it; this, when completed by sheathing the sides of the canal with planks, formed the well-known Heere Graft, which covered the site of the present Broad Street, and which was a reminder, in a humble way, of the Heere Graft in Amsterdam.¹

To carry out this work, it became necessary to remove the house of the Melyn family, and in June, 1656, Jacob Schellinger, Melyn's son-in-law, was notified not to proceed with the rest of his immediate neighbors in the construction of sheet-piling along their respective water-fronts, "as his house lies in the canal and on the road." A year or two afterwards it was demolished, and there was given by the burgomasters to the Melyn family, in partial compensation, a small lot of ground, only about eighteen feet square, at the southeast corner of Hoogh Straet (present Stone Street) and the Graft; this lot had been gained by the straightening of Hoogh Straet which took place about this time, the western end of that street being shifted some twenty or twenty-five feet northwards, in order to make it connect more nearly with Brouwer

¹ The Heere Graft (or modern Gracht) of Amsterdam, of which a view is given in this work, is a canal, which with its bordering passageways is about one hundred and fifty English feet in breadth. Beginning and ending at or very near the Port, sometimes called, not very correctly, the River Y, it extends in a semi-elliptical curve around a considerable section of the city. A large portion of the Graft was constructed from about 1610 to 1615, and in the middle of the seventeenth century it formed the boundary of the city to the eastward, though a large extent of buildings had grown up to the west of it. The Heere Graft soon became one of the principal thoroughfares of Amsterdam, and (though containing no public buildings of much note), it soon came to be a favorite residence of the principal merchants, bankers, and others of the wealthier portion of the community.

Straet (or the present Stone Street, west of Broad); an inspection of the locality will show that the lines of these streets are not continuous at the present time. Here the Melyns built their second dwelling, a small brick house, and here some of them resided for many years. Nominally, the property belonged to the infant children of Captain Jacob Loper and of Cornelia Melyn,¹ but it soon passed into the hands of other members of the family.

On May 27, 1684, after Jannetje, the widow of Cornelis Melyn, had closed her eventful and troubled life, her eldest son Jacob received a conveyance of this property through the administrators of his mother's estate. He did not remain permanently in New York, but was engaged in the business of a leather-dresser in Boston; and in May, 1697, he sold the house for £360 to William Bickley, a merchant of the city, who had previously resided in it for some time as a tenant. It is a curious fact that this small plot of ground has retained its dimensions through the vicissitudes of nearly two centuries and a half, and is to-day occupied by a small and somewhat dingy brick building with a wealth of rusty iron fire-escapes; it appears to have stoutly resisted absorption by the more imposing structure whose blank walls of yellow brick over-tower it on two sides.

Just south of this house, along the present Broad Street, was a small space of ground which belonged to the Melyn family, and which became available for building purposes when the Heere Graft was opened and regulated, in 1657 or thereabouts. Here, at a date unknown, but doubtless within three or four years after the period last mentioned, a cottage was built which was afterwards occupied for many years by Isaac Melyn, a younger son of Cornelis. Isaac Melyn appears to have been engaged in shipping ventures as early as 1672: he was at that time owner or master of

¹ The record of baptisms in the Dutch Church contains the names of two of the children of Captain Loper; namely, Jacobus, October 25, 1648, and Janneken, October 30, 1650. The daughter Janneken married, October 9, 1674, Joris Davidson of Albany: as to the son, see Appendix II. to this volume.



VIEW OF THE SOUTHEAST CORNER OF BROAD AND STONE STREETS.
Showing the sites of the later "Melyn House" and that of
the poet Jacob Steendam.



the ship "Expectation," and having a controversy with some freighters respecting damage occasioned by a leak, he received the permission of the Governor and Council to have the cargo unloaded and examined by arbitrators. The Broad Street premises were sold in 1722 by Joanna, the wife of Jonathan Dickinson of Elizabethtown, New Jersey, who was the only surviving child of Isaac Melyn, to William Verplanck, a merchant of New York.¹

At the time of our survey of New Amsterdam in 1655, a dwelling-house had been recently built on the south side of Hoogh Straet, immediately east of the spot upon which the later, or second, Melyn house was, within a year or two afterwards erected; its site is at present covered by the northerly end of the large building which encloses two sides of the small Melyn plot, above described.² The lot upon which this dwelling-house stood had been sold by Cornelis Melyn, soon after his return from the Netherlands, in the early part of 1651, to Sibout Claessen, a carpenter by trade, from the ancient town of Hoorn, then a famous seaport upon the Zuyder Zee, some sixteen or eighteen miles north of Amsterdam. As Director Stuyvesant had, at this time, caused proceedings to be instituted against Melyn for an alleged infringement of the revenue laws, under which proceedings the balance of his land along the East River shore was afterwards confiscated as above stated,³ he apparently refused to recognize the validity of Melyn's transfer to Claessen, and would not allow any deed of the property to be registered. Claessen, however, not only maintained possession of the premises, but thriftily endeavored to take advantage of the irregularity, by refusing to pay Melyn the price agreed upon. Stuyvesant's persecutions seem to have deterred Melyn for some years from prosecuting his demand for the purchase-money, and when he finally sued Claessen

¹ For further details respecting the family of Cornelis Melyn, see Appendix II. to this volume.

² See *ante*, page 124.

³ See *ante*, page 120.

before the Court of the Burgomasters, the cause languished along for several years, and was not terminated in Melyn's favor until 1661.

The rear of this lot of Sibout Claessen, which extended to the shore, was encroached upon by the tides in violent storms; and, for the purpose of preventing it from being washed away, Claessen, first among the owners upon the shore, constructed a sheet-piling of planks along the bank in the rear of his premises. This he had done prior to 1654, and upon his complaint the other owners, as far east as the present Coenties Alley, were ordered to carry out a similar work along their respective lots, the burgomasters engaging to construct the same protection to the shore in front of the Town House.¹

¹ Sibout Claessen occupied the property on Hoogh Straet (Stone), above described, for many years. He had no children, but had married the widow of Aert Teunissen, a farmer at Hoboken who was killed by the Indians while on a trading excursion in the vicinity of Sandy Hook, in the year 1643; to her two daughters Wyntje, the wife of Simon Barentsen, and Susanna, wife of Rynier Willemsen, girls of about seventeen and fourteen years at the time of our survey, Claessen left his estate, at his death in 1680. In 1646 Claessen received a grant of about one hundred acres of land, "at the Hook of the Hellegaat called Hoorn's Hoek." This was a headland on the East River shore, near the foot of the present Eighty-ninth Street, and the name is supposed to have been given to it by Claessen in remembrance of the locality of similar appellation, east of the entrance to the harbor of his native city of Hoorn. Claessen soon parted with the land upon the East River, but the name was long familiar; indeed, it appears upon a map published as late as 1875 or thereabouts, in the corrupted form of "Harris' Hook."

CHAPTER XII

*JACOB STEENDAM, THE DUTCH POET, AND HIS HOUSE. —
HIS POETICAL WORKS. — "DEN DISTELVINK." — POEMS ON
NEW NETHERLAND. — HIS LATTER YEARS AT BATAVIA*

Der Christlichen Religion
War er von hertzen zugethon,
Dieselb zu fürdern und zu ehren,
Und rechten Gottsdienst zu vermehren.

Das ist der schatz in dieser Welt,
Der übertrifft alls Gut und Gelt,
Welchen der Rost nit fressen mag,
Er bleibt biss an den Jüngsten 'Tag.

"Ritter Theurdanck."

BETWEEN the lot of Sibout Claessen and the Town House, upon the south side of the High Street, lay the confiscated land of Cornelis Melyn. This (after deducting a portion, which was added to the grounds of the Town House), had been divided into four parcels, which were sold to as many different individuals in September, 1651. Of these parcels, the one next to Claessen's lot was held at the time of our survey by Mattheus, or Matthew de Vos, a respectable notary of the town, who has been previously mentioned in these sketches.¹ In the year 1655 it appears to have been still vacant and unimproved,² but the next year it was sold to Adolph Pietersen, a house carpenter who seems to have built upon it and occupied it as a residence for many years.³ Of the remaining parcels of this series the

¹ See *ante*, p. 12.

² As, by the way, it happens to be at the present time (1900), the lot being boarded off from the street.

³ This person appears to have been also occasionally employed — possibly for the convenience of the use of his carpenter's rule — in measuring off parcels

two nearest to the Town Hall were held in 1655, one by Sybrant Jansen, sometimes called Galma, — it is uncertain whether this was as yet built upon; the other, adjoining the enclosure of the Town House, was owned by Captain Adriaen Blommaert, skipper of the West India Company's ship "New Amsterdam;" it was probably built upon as early as 1655, but the house seems to have stood upon what was really the rear of the lot, near the shore, so as to enjoy the immediate proximity of the Town House.

As for the intervening parcel of land, or the one situated between the lot of Matthew de Vos upon the west and that of Sybrant Jansen upon the east, it possesses far more of interest and is in fact one of the historic sites of New Amsterdam. Here stood, without doubt, the original house of Burger Jorissen, the smith, erected certainly as early as 1641, and one of the first dwelling-houses, if not the very first, to be built in the *village* of New Amsterdam, east of the present Broad Street. Sold to Cornelis Melyn in 1644, as already stated,¹ it was granted in 1651 as a part of his confiscated estate to Cornelis van Tienhoven, the favored Secretary under Director-General Stuyvesant; and upon the 12th of October, 1654, it was purchased from Van Tienhoven by Doctor Jacob Varrevanger for Jacob Steendam, the Dutch poet, who resided here at the time of our survey.

The passer-by in Stone Street, between Broad Street and Hanover Square, will, if he have sufficient leisure to look about him, be quite sure to have his attention directed to a two-story and basement brick dwelling-house standing oddly in the midst of the dull warehouses of that locality. For a New York building, the house is ancient, — that is to say, it was probably erected in the first or second decade of the nineteenth century. Time has dealt hardly with the edifice

of land for individuals. In this connection he executed, in 1664, immediately after the surrender to the English, "a survey" of a small parcel of land for Burger Jorissen, and in this occurs perhaps the first use of the new name of the town which can be traced to private citizens. Pietersen's phonetic spelling of the name was "Nu Iarck."

¹ See *ante*, pp. 104, 105.

in some respects; its brown-stone doorsteps and window-sills are crumbling away, and its iron railings are deeply bitten with rust. The lower portion of the building seems to be devoted to certain mechanical trades, but the second story still displays its fringed window-shades and linen-covered parlor furniture, as it may have done three quarters of a century ago.¹ It is no very violent supposition that this old house, No. 26 Stone Street, may be the immediate successor of the original house of Burger Jorissen, as afterwards held by Cornelis Melyn and the Secretary Van Tienhoven. Upon the Justus Danckers view of New Amsterdam, the period of which cannot vary much from the year 1650, this building appears to be clearly shown, and its position being an isolated one, the representation is likely to approach accuracy, at any rate in its essential details. The house thus depicted is a modest-looking structure of a story and a half in height; its gable end fronts the road, but it has a doorway towards the south, looking in the direction of the City Tavern and of the river, the intervening space being as yet unoccupied by any buildings.

At the "stoep" before this doorway a slight play of the imagination will suffice to place us: the elevated railway and the warehouses on Pearl Street and thence to the river have all disappeared, and in their place the waves ripple upon a shingly beach; at our front the garden extends a hundred feet or more to the bank overlooking the shore; and a well with its rude sweep is seen among the vegetable beds and the currant bushes; to the left of us the Hoogh Straet stretches for a space, till it is gradually lost as it curves around the large house and grounds of Govert Loockermans;² between these and the old City Tavern, or Town

¹ After the completion of the present work, and in the latter part of 1901, or in the beginning of 1902, the old building spoken of in the text as occupying the site of Steendam's house was demolished. The vacant spot upon which it stood can be seen in the view of the site of the Melyn house at the corner of Broad and Stone streets, facing page 124 of this work, at the left-hand side of the print.

² Situated on the present Hanover Square.

Hall, which is backed by a swelling knoll and some forest trees near the shore, a vista opens far up the dark blue waters of the East River; across the river (in which, not far from the shore, a few New England coasters and one or two of the high-sterned sea ships of the West India Company are lying at anchor),¹ the last rays of a summer sun gild the forests on the hills of Long Island; and at our side, in a halo of the smoke of his evening pipe, is the patient, thoughtful, firm, but somewhat careworn face of Jacob Steendam, long-time servant of the West India Company, the first poet of New Netherland, and — if we leave out of view Welde and Mather's crude metrical version of the Psalms, published in New England in 1640, and Mrs. Anne Bradstreet's abstractions, published there at about the same period — in all probability the earliest poet of North America.²

Jacob Steendam's life had been one of hardship and of adventure. Like Catullus, he found his haven —

"Multas per gentes, et multa per æquora vectus,"

and it was this wandering life that called forth the lines, —

"O Steendam! die door zoo veel zeen,
Een reex van vijftien ronde jaeren
U aen de Maatschappij verbint," —

Thou, Steendam, who o'er many a sea,
In service of the Company,
While fifteen years around have rolled, etc.,

addressed to him by his friend, the Dutch poet, Pieter Verhoek.

¹ In Burger Jorissen's day, in 1641, a drunken gunner, upon one of the vessels anchored near the shore, did considerable damage to this house, by the discharge of a shotted cannon in firing a salute.

² George Sandys, while treasurer of the Colony of Virginia in its early days, is said to have occupied a portion of his time in preparing his translation of Ovid. As his stay in the colony was but a limited one, however, and as his works contain nothing relating to America, it is difficult to see why he should be called an American poet. As for the Rev. William Morrell, who resided for a very short time in the Plymouth Colony soon after its foundation, his verses published after his return to England, about the year 1625, in the pedantic Latin of his day, and which he called "*Nova Anglia*," are to be looked upon more as a literary curiosity than anything else.



JACOB STEENDAM — THE KOOMAN PORTRAIT.

From a print in the Lenox Library, New York.

According to the best information accessible, Steendam was born about 1616 in the city of Enkhuisen. This old town, in the extreme northeastern part of the province of Holland, and at the entrance to the Zuyder Zee, though now much decayed, was in Jacob Steendam's time in high prosperity. Its streets of substantial stone houses were filled with a busy throng of ship-builders, pilots, seamen, the fishermen of several hundred herring smacks then owned in the city, and the numerous artisans and tradesmen supplying the wants of this maritime population. The little city, too, was proud of its historic and scientific renown; in 1572 it was the first town in North Holland to raise the standard of liberty against the oppression of Spain, and its citizens had fought valiantly in the Dutch fleets and armies; the ships built here found their way to all parts of the globe; one of them, "The Maid of Enkhuisen," was in the New Amsterdam trade; the spirit of geographical research and of exploration became active, and Enkhuisen boasted of several renowned geographers and naturalists.

The city lay in the midst of a world of waters, extending, as far as the eye could reach, to the north, east, and south; only northwards, across the wide mouth of the Zuyder Zee, the houses and steeples of the old Frisian city of Staveren appeared to rise out of the sea:—

" Am fernen Horizonte
Erscheint, wie ein Nebelbild,
Die Stadt, mit ihren Türmen
In Abenddämmerung gehüllt; "

and far to the east, the light upon the island of Urck shone dimly through the misty nights upon the Zuyder Zee.

To a mind like that of the young Jacob Steendam, there must have come many romantic visions, as the Amsterdam ships passed daily by Enkhuisen on their way to and from many strange lands, while now and then Dutch men-of-war or privateers sailed by with their Spanish or Portuguese prizes. The love of adventure was strong within him, and

at an early age he went to Amsterdam, where he soon entered the service of the West India Company.¹ But little is known respecting the position he occupied under that corporation, nor of his particular travels; when about twenty-five years of age, however, he was sent, in the interests of the Company, to the coast of Guinea, and was present at the taking of Fort Axen or Axem from the Portuguese, in 1642,² after which his duties detained him upon the African coast till the year 1649, when he appears to have returned to Amsterdam.³

At least as early as 1636, when not more than twenty years of age, Steendam had written verses, and about 1649-50 he published a collection of them, called "*Den Distelvink*," — "*The Thistle-finch*," — which has now become exceedingly rare. This is a little volume of lyrical pieces, chiefly love songs, poems descriptive of his own personal experiences and spiritual and devotional verses marked by a deeply religious feeling which was characteristic of the man, and which was well alluded to by the Dutch author, Johan Nieuwhoff, in his eulogistic lines upon Steendam: —

"De gaaven van zyn Geest, in maatzang uitgelezen,
Verstrecken Godts gemeent een Harp die d'ooren streeld
Met Davids Hemel-taal. Wie kan zyn kunst vollooven?
Des Heeren Lofgezag gaat alle Loff te boven."

¹ "Amsterdam,
Waar dat ik jeugdig kwam,
Van u ik lest mijn afscheijd nam," etc.

² "Wy hebben kort daar na (met seven kloeke-Schépen),
Den *Spek* een Fort ontmand; dat wy met moet angrépen;
Waar op ik ben geleyd self in het oog van Mars," etc.

³ In a poetical epistle, dated at Fort Axem in Guinea, 7 Aug., 1642, to "the very bright young daughter and poetess Aafje Cornelis, at Enchuysen," Steendam gives several of the details of his journey to Africa. He sailed out of the Texel on the 11th of October, 1641, with a fleet of twenty-seven sail, bound to various quarters of the globe, and which narrowly escaped destruction in a severe storm which overtook them on the 17th of October, off the Isle of Wight. On December 19, he arrived at the Castle of Delmijn in Guinea.

His spirit's gifts divine, set forth in flowing song,
 Unto God's people give a harp which charms the ear
 With David's heav'nly theme. His art, what song may praise?
 The hymn of praise to God transcendeth all our lays.

Many of the poems of Steendam are signed with the whimsical pseudonym "Noch Vaster," — "still firmer," — which he seems to have adopted from some fancied appositeness to his own name, Steendam signifying "stone dam."

His familiarity with nautical affairs gives a flavor of the sea to many of the verses of Jacob Steendam. In some of them, which are written with a vigor calling to mind the sea-verses of Campbell, one can almost hear the salt breeze whistling through the cordage of the West India Company's fleet as it sails southwards: —

"Ye ploughers of the ocean
 And harrowers of the sea!
 The ship Deventer goes before,
 And with the Roe sail we.
 And the Swan and Hind we see.
 To the Guinea coast of Africa we hie,
 To the golden Moorish land,
 Wherein God's mighty hand
 Hath planted our dominion far and nigh."¹

Always, whether upon the sea or the land, the poet finds some subject of moral reflection. In the "eyndelose wech," the endless wake of the ship as she sails through smooth waters, he sees the swift flowing away of an aimless human life; in the image of the anchor, he sees the right use of Time. So, too, hear "The Thistlefinch" singing to the newly married couple: —

¹ "Gij ploegers van den Oceaan
 En Eggers in de Zee.
 't Schip Deventer wil voor ons gaan,
 Wij volgen met de Ree,
 De Swaan en Hinde mee;
 Ons Oog-wit is Guiné
 In Africa.
 Het goud rijk Moren-land,
 Daar God krachtig heeft geplant
 Onsen Handel, voor en na."

“A ship with sturdy timbers
 No haven long may stay,
 Tho’ Neptune’s foaming billows
 Are roaring on her way;
 But yet she hastens out,
 Her tarry tackle shining:
 Along her brown hull’s sides
 A thousand links are twining.

“’T is patience shows the helmsman
 The goal for which he steers,
 Tho’ Thetis frowns upon him,
 And Triton’s rage he hears;
 Who with his dolphins all
 The very clouds is scaling;
 The surly Sun-God too
 His face and rays is veiling.

“Now read my hidden meaning:
 Ye and the ship are one;
 The waning of affection,
 The storm and reefs to shun.
 A helmsman is provided,
 And youth’s bright dreams to cherish;
 The world’s ways are the Sea, —
 The Gulf where many perish.”¹

¹ “Een schip seer wel getimmerd
 Houd geen havens-stee;
 Schoon dat Neptunus schimmerd,
 Ruyschend op de Ree,
 Nochtans het ijld sich uyt
 Met sijn bepekte takels;
 En bruyn geverfde huyd,
 Gehecht met duysend schakels.

“Geduld vertoond den Stuurman
 ’t Wit daar hy opdoeld
 Al siet hem Thetis suur an,
 En of Triton woeld;
 Die met syn Dollephijn
 Tot an de Wolken steygerd
 Daar Delius hem sijn
 Gesicht en Stralen weygerd.

“Let nu eens op mijn Méning:
 Gij dan sijt het schip;
 d’ Onheylen, echts-verkléning
 Is ’t onweer en klip;
 Den Stuurman is u geeft
 En jeugds genegendheden
 De Zee (die ménig vreest)
 Vertoond des Werelds zeden.”

In one sense, Steendam's name and his favorite poetical pseudonym are particularly appropriate: there is one quality conspicuous all through his writings, and it is that of steadfastness. Some of his imagery is not of the most delicate description, and his phrases are occasionally prolix and involved; but the earnestness of the man so illuminates his work that one would be no more disposed seriously to criticise his verses than those of Wordsworth or of Whittier. He seems from the very beginning to have kept steadily in view a plan of progression from higher to higher aims, — a design which he never lost sight of, and which he has set forth quaintly in the opening lines of “Den Distelvink.”

“Here by the Amstel's stream the Thistlefinch is singing,
As though 't were but to-day he from the nest were winging.
See how the callow bird, with artlessness elate,
Already seeks to pair and blythely calls his mate.
'T is sure that as he chirps so erst his elders sung,
For as the old birds sing, so chirp and pipe the young.
Though with the nightingale's his song may not compare,
He speaks in his own tongue and sings to his own air:
For tender little birds have feeble bills, I trow:
But yet, O loving youths, another tune ye 'll know,
If ye can only wait until his pinions grow,
And upwards to the clouds he 'll soar from earth below.”¹

Seven years spent under the tropical sun of Africa had added more than the years might indicate to the cares of Jacob Steendam and to his sense of the seriousness of life, when, in 1649, the long wished-for opportunity arrived for a

¹ “Hier singt den Distelvink omtrent des Amstels Stroomen,
Als of hy nyt den dop eerst heden was gekomen;
Siet doch het naakte Dier betoont sijn blyden aart,
Het soekt en smeekt sijn helft, en wenscht te zijn gepaart;
't Is seker so het pijpt ook eerst sijn ouders songen
Want so den ouden singt so pijpen ook de jongen.
Schoon dat het niet en queelt gelijk den Nachtegaal,
Het singt op sijn manier en spreekt sijn eygen taal,
Want sachte vogeltjes die hebben weeke nebben;
Ghy sult (o soete jeucht) een ander deuntje hebben
Indien gij wachten kunt, tot dat het veeren krýgt
En van de aerd om hooch tot door de wolken stijgt.”

return to the Netherlands. His health had suffered in the pestilential climate of the country,—“this poisonous Africa,” as he calls it;¹ and he tells in his verses of the confused visions of “the World, the Flesh, and the Devil,” which crowded upon him in the delirious hours of his fevers. Then, too, he suffered in one of the strongest attachments of his devoted nature, in the breaking up of the companionship between himself and his close friend Johannes Foullon, one of the principal mercantile agents in Africa of the West India Company, —a young man of about the poet’s age, who returned to Holland in 1645. Many of Steendam’s verses are addressed to this friend.

Jacob Steendam seems to have reached the Netherlands in the early part of the year 1649, for on or about the 21st of July of that year the first part of “Den Distelvink” was published at Amsterdam, and on the 20th of November of the same year, the second part of the work was published at the same place, while the third and concluding portion appeared on the 6th of July, 1650. Prior to this latter date Steendam seems to have been married to Sara de Rosschou, whose praises he had sung in some of the verses of the last part of “Den Distelvink.”

About the year 1652, Steendam arrived at New Amsterdam, but whether he was still in the employment of the West India Company is not known. In July, 1653, he purchased a small house and lot in Pearl Street directly under the walls of the fort, and here he appears to have resided for a short time, till he acquired, in the following year, the house upon Hoogh Straet, above described, which was his residence at the period of our survey. Besides the above parcels of land in New Amsterdam, Steendam owned for a time a house and garden upon the east side of Broadway, about midway between the present Beaver Street and

¹ “Hy sal u (behouden) brengen
Uyt dit giftig Africa;
Hy sal u de tijd verlengen,
Tot in 't oud-Batavia,” etc.

Exchange Place, and a garden spot, or piece of vacant ground, of about half an acre in extent, on the north side of the then recently laid out Prinse Straet (now forming an easterly extension of Beaver Street), between the present Broad and William streets.

As to Steendam's occupation while in New Amsterdam, but little is known. A bill for a dozen cushions, supplied by him to the burgomasters of the town for their use in the Town Hall, has been taken as an evidence that he was in possession of the trade of an upholsterer, but this is a mere conjecture, and he calls himself indeed upon several occasions, a "trader." Like most of the citizens of New Amsterdam who possessed some capital, however, he was interested in farming operations, and soon after his arrival he became the proprietor of a plantation at Amersfoort upon Long Island, and of a tract of about thirty acres, doubtless woodland, upon the shore of the Mespat Kill, at present known as Newtown Creek. He seems to have been a prosperous man, and several mortgages to him appear upon the records during his sojourn in New Netherland.

Steendam remained about eight years in New Amsterdam, returning to the Netherlands in the latter part of the year 1660, as nearly as can be ascertained. He was deeply interested in the affairs of the Colony, and he deplored the neglected state into which it had been suffered to fall, between the indifference of the Dutch government on the one hand, and the failing circumstances of the West India Company on the other. It was with a view to excite public attention in the Netherlands to this condition of things that in 1659 Steendam sent there his first poem on the affairs of the Colony; this was called "The Complaint of New Amsterdam to her Mother." After his return to Amsterdam, and about the year 1661, he published a poem of some length, entitled "The Praise of New Netherland," dedicated to Cornelis van Ruyven, then Secretary of the Colony, and this was followed in 1662, or soon thereafter, by a third poem, bearing the odd appellation of "Prikkel-Versen" (which has

been well rendered as "Spurring Verses"), and designed for the purpose of urging on a proposed attempt by the city of Amsterdam to plant a colony on the Delaware River, upon land granted for that purpose by the West India Company.

At the period of Jacob Steendam's residence in New Amsterdam, the creative powers of nature were still in full operation in the immediate vicinity of the settlement. A walk of ten minutes from his home brought him to rural solitudes along the Maagde Paetje, or Maiden Lane; a walk of less than an hour brought him to the primeval forest beyond Director Stuyvesant's bouwery. The sight of the bountiful gifts of nature, open to all, seems to have inspired him with a wonderful confidence in the future of the land. The prospect was undisturbed by the troublesome questions of a vast and increasing proletarian population; of boundless municipal and private extravagance; of an army of non-tax-paying professional politicians, drawing their support from the tax-paying classes; of enormous taxes, draining the life-blood from trade and commerce; and of vice too great for the police power adequately to cope with. All these problems were far distant; the virtues and vices of the community were those of an infant state of society. Many of the people were poor, but those who were able and willing to labor could easily supply their simple wants, even though it were

"Met suppaan en Harte vleysch," —

with suppaan and venison; and all might reasonably expect materially to better their condition.

Steendam exulted in the land and in its capabilities; at the edges of the uplands, from under the roots of the beeches and alders, a thousand springs of the purest water gushed forth; around the settlement lay, in all directions, the virgin soil, "red, white, blue, and black," possessing the most varied qualities; everywhere he saw the "kills" rolling their full streams through the woods; all these it was his delight to extol in his verse. He had perhaps looked from the

Bergen Heights upon the waving sea of reeds extending to the forest-clad hills far away to the west; upon the beach at Corlaer's Hoek, he had wandered among the great boulders of gneiss and sandstone and trap, the detritus of the glacial age; from his house upon the East River shore he had often watched the great forests of Long Island beyond the sand bluffs; these, too, all appeared in his song. He was a close observer of the exuberant animal and vegetable life around him: from his own door he had seen the stately flight of the eagle, or the poising of the hawk over the East River, and the tumbling of the porpoises in the bay; in sheltered coves along the shores of "the Company's Bouwerijs" and their meadows, the wild ducks and geese swam in their seasons; at the edges of the swamps along "Bestevaars Killeetje," back of Director Van Twiller's tobacco fields, and not far perhaps from where Washington Square now is, the wild turkeys fed; quail started up before him in the pastures along the Bouwery Lane; in the thickets upon the Sand Hills the partridge whirred past him; and as he rambled along the banks of the "Great Kill," the otter slid into the water before him; the raccoon and fox, the marten and the mink, the rabbits, and the flying-squirrels, "leaping through the air," — he tells of them all.

Everywhere, too, in the autumn woods, he saw the nut trees, with the ground beneath them covered with their ungathered stores; in the common pasture fields and in the newly cleared lands, in early summer, he admired the profusion of the strawberries, "which in proud scarlet shine;" in hedgerows and waste spots, — likely enough along Secretary Van Tienhoven's lane, where narrow and dingy Ann Street now is, — he had gathered the bark and the tender shoots of the medicinal sassafras in early spring, or the wild cherries in late summer; in the wet borders by Maagde Paetje, mint and catnip, tansy and the bee-haunted thyme grew thickly; and the gardens of the colonists were filled with kitchen vegetables without limit. To Steendam's enthusiastic mind, the whole country was a garden, and he sings: —

“ Siet, mijn tuyn leyd an twee Stromen
 Die van ‘t Oost, en ‘t Noorden komen,
 En haar storten in de Zee,
 Visch-rijk boven allen Mee.”

North and east two streams supplying,
 ‘Twixt the two my garden lying;
 Here they pour into the sea,
 Rich with fish, beyond degree.

The teeming life of the waters, in fact, excites his special admiration, and he tells of the shad and the striped bass, of the sea bass and the blackfish, of the crabs, lobsters, mussels, and oysters, —

“ So large that one, in size, exceedeth three
 Of those of Europe.”

Even the humble sunfish and perch of the Kolck pond are not forgotten.

In his close observation of nature (more than in his facility of expression), Steendam has something of kin to Robert Burns, and he could have well appreciated the Scotchman when he sings: —

“ Ev’n winter bleak has charms for me
 When winds rave thro’ the naked tree;
 Or frosts on hills of Ochiltree
 Are hoary gray;
 Or blinding drifts wild-furious flee,
 Dark’ning the day.

“ O Nature! a’ thy shows an’ forms
 To feeling, pensive hearts hae charms!
 Whether the simmer kindly warms
 Wi’ life an’ light,
 Or winter howls, in gusty storms,
 The lang, dark night!”

Upon such a night — perhaps in the year of grace 1655 — Jacob Steendam sits in his armchair, meditatively contemplating a blazing hickory log which lies in the ample fireplace of his house on Hoogh Straet: —

“ ‘t is noten-hout dat niemand heeft geplant,’ —

nut-wood, planted by no human hand! Outside, the wind whistles about the exposed dwelling; the snow drives through the dark street, where the shuttered windows give no light; and he hears the waves of the East River dashing with freezing spray upon the stones of the beach below the piling back of his house; but within doors the blaze of the odoriferous wood grows brighter and hotter, and he exclaims:—

“Wiens heete vlam geen vocht noch koude wijkt,
Wiens geur, en reuk, (vol aangenaamheyt), lijkt
Na Eden's velden.”

Whose genial flame yields to no damp nor cold,
Whose odors fragrant are as those of old,
In fields of Eden.

The house upon Hoogh Straet was sold by Steendam in September, 1656, to Jan Cornelissen van Hoorn, the ancestor of the Van Horne family of the Colony. The poet remained several years longer in New Netherland, however, and for a time, about the year 1657, he is said to be “at present residing in New Haven,” but as to the business which took him to that place, and as to the length of his sojourn there, we have no information; but in the summer of 1660 we find him preparing to return with his family to Amsterdam. He now entered into the employment of the Dutch East India Company, and in 1666 he sailed from Amsterdam for Batavia on the island of Java, the emporium of the Dutch colonies in the eastern seas, he having received the appointment of Ziekentrooster, or visitor and consoler of the sick at that place, — an inferior ministerial office in the church. At Batavia, Steendam was chosen, in 1668, governor of the Orphans' House in that city, and he held that office for several years, still exercising occasionally his poetical gifts, for he published here another collection of lyrical pieces, called “Zeede Zangen voor de Batavische Jonkheit,” — “Moral Songs for the Batavian Youth.”

Here, then, Jacob Steendam ended his days amid strange

and unfamiliar scenes. As he walked down the broad Heere Straet of that rising city, he could catch glimpses, on either hand, of canals with their bordering roadways, as he had often seen them at Amsterdam or at Rotterdam, but where the low-roofed Dutch houses which lined them were oddly overtopped by tufted palm-trees, and the canals themselves bore uncouth names, such as the Lion's Graft, the Tiger's Graft, or the Crocodile's Graft. In the crowded market-place he saw, besides the Dutch and Portuguese from Europe, men of the varied races of southeastern Asia, — Chinese and Malays, Siamese and Cambodians, natives of Sumatra and of the Spice Islands, with the fat, sleepy-looking Javanese; occasionally perhaps a military detachment would pass him, on its way to some service or another in the island, where the Dutch soldiers, with their heavy muskets and with their field artillery, contrasted strangely with the long-haired, turbaned Amboynese auxiliaries, in the pay of the East India Company, bearing murderous-looking scimitars and oblong shields almost as huge as those which Jacob Steendam's ancestors had carried, when under the leadership of Civilis they had slaughtered the Roman legions sixteen centuries before.

Every day, when the morning breeze sprang up, a crowd of vessels sailed into the port, as they had thronged by Enkhuysen with a favoring wind in Steendam's younger days; but here the Dutch ships were mingled with Chinese junks, and with all the extraordinary forms of naval architecture made use of by the islanders. Looking landwards from the city walls, the broad plantations of rice and of sugar-cane which stretched away towards the dark mountains of Java, lay in a quivering haze in that climate where

“ With fearful power the noonday reigns,
And the palm-trees yield no shade.”

The slow flow of the Jacatara River through the heart of the city may have served to recall to Steendam memories of the Amstel and of Amsterdam; but there was little to bring to

his mind his house upon the East River shore at New Amsterdam, and that New Netherland of which he had sung:—

“Dit is het Land daar Melk en Hoenig vloeyd ;
Dit is ‘t geweest daar ‘t Kruid, (als Dist’len) groeyd ;
Dit is de Plaats daar Arons-Roede bloeyd ;
Dit is het Eden.”

This is the land where milk and honey flow ;
Where wholesome herbs freely as thistles grow ;
The land where Aaron’s Rod its buds doth show ;
A very Eden !

Jacob Steendam appears to have died at Batavia in 1671, or soon thereafter, when his wife was continued in the supervision of the Orphans’ House at that place. Upon the death of the latter in 1673, her daughter Vredeghond succeeded to the same position, though very young. This daughter of Steendam, who was baptized in the Dutch Church at New Amsterdam, April 4, 1655, was in all probability born in the house upon Hoogh Straet, above described. Besides her, Steendam had two other children baptized in the Dutch Church during his sojourn at New Amsterdam; namely, Samuel, on November 18, 1657, and Jacob, on December 4, 1658; whether the sons reached maturity is not known.¹

¹ Most of the scanty particulars we have respecting the life of Steendam have been gathered by Mr. Henry C. Murphy, and are given in his valuable monograph on the anthology of New Netherland.

CHAPTER XIII

JACOB VAN COUWENHOVEN AND HIS BREWERY.—PRINSE STRAET, AND “THE GARDENS.”—SLYCK STEEGH, OR MILL LANE.—THE BARK MILL.—DOMINIE MICHAELIS AND THE FIRST DUTCH CHURCH.—EVERT DUYSKINK

“Holland! Holland! See, we sever
Like a fleet, each wending ever
Towards his fore-appointed place.
Farewell, farewell! whate’er betide us
This we know, that God will guide us,
Whom we pray’d to be beside us;
Praised be His grace!
Amsterdam,
Where in my youth I came,
From you my last departure I must tell;
And all my friends together, fare ye well,
I leave you, in God’s name!”

Translated from STEENDAM’S “Den Distelvink.”

NEARLY opposite the house of Jacob Steendam, upon Hoogh Straet, and occupying a part of the site of the building which stands upon the northeast corner of the present Broad and Stone streets, but fronting upon the latter street, stood at the time of our survey a house belonging to Jacob Wolfertsen van Couwenhoven. This man, with his two brothers, Peter and Gerrit, were the sons of Wolfert Gerritsen, of Amersfoort, a town of considerable size, about twenty-five miles southeast of Amsterdam, and a few miles south of the Zuyder Zee. That town had suffered grievously in 1629 from its occupation by an Austro-Spanish army, in the dragging war which Spain was vindictively carrying on against the United Provinces, and there is strong probability that it was this misfortune that led Wolfert Gerritsen and his sons to seek

a home in New Netherland in the following year. The sons themselves at this time would seem to have been men of mature years; at any rate, Jacob van Couwenhoven was familiarly known about the town, in 1655, as "old Jacob." The father, for several years prior to 1639, hired one of the newly cleared farms of the West India Company,¹ being the one commonly known as "Bouwery No. 6," the farmhouse of which stood upon the east side of the present Chatham Square, its land lying generally between the present Division Street and the river shore.

The brothers appear to have been men endowed with generous and kindly dispositions; and in 1646, after the death of their father, and of their brother Gerrit, when they came to divide their slender patrimony, they allowed, by an agreement which is still extant, to Jan, one of the young children of their deceased brother, 100 guilders more than to the others, "because he has not as good health as the others, and is weak in his limbs, and to all appearance will not be a stout man."

Amersfoort, the native town of the Van Couwenhoven brothers, with its great church spire towering high above a picturesque landscape of hill and dale, — quite different from the general character of the scenery of the Netherlands, — was, in the seventeenth century, the seat of an active transit trade of tobacco, beer, malt grains, etc., between the Netherlands and Germany; barges from Amsterdam and from all the ports of the Zuyder Zee sailing up the small river Eem to the town, whence a short land carriage brought their freight to the banks of the Rhine. Many of the inhabitants of Amersfoort were familiar with the brewer's trade, and among these was Jacob van Couwenhoven. He appears to have had the design, from an early day, of establishing a brewery in New Amsterdam,

¹ His first employment was at Rensselaerswyck, near Albany, where for a time he was superintendent of farms for the patroon Van Rensselaer. After coming to New Amsterdam, he was one of the purchasers, in 1636, of a tract of land from the Indians at what is now known as Flatlands, south of Brooklyn, but to which he gave the name of New Amersfoort. His lands here, after his death, passed to his sons, and the descendants of his son, Gerrit, under the name of Couwenhoven, or Kouwenhoven, are still numerous upon the western end of Long Island.

and for this purpose, as early as 1645, he had obtained from Director-General Kieft, the grant of "a lot for a dwelling-house, brewery, and garden, lying behind the public inn." This was a plot of ground of about sixty-five English feet front, by more than one hundred feet in depth, situated also on Hoogh (Stone) Straet, and a couple of hundred feet east of the parcel we are more particularly describing. Here, Jacob van Couwenhoven commenced operations by building for himself a substantial stone dwelling-house; by the time this was completed, he found himself so heavily in debt,—the unusual sum, for those days, of about 3,500 guilders, or \$1,400 on his house alone,—that his brewery project was deferred, perforce, for a number of years. Van Couwenhoven was, in fact, an inveterate speculator, and wherever any piece of property was offered for sale at what he thought was a "bargain," such as the old church building near the shore, or the old horse mill property upon Slyck Steegh (now South William Street) back of his house, he stood ready to buy it, without the least regard to his ability to pay for it. It was perhaps in this way that he had become, prior to 1654, possessed of the plot of ground we are more particularly describing, at the corner of "the Ditch" and of Hoogh Straet: that piece of land had been originally granted to one Antony Jansen, but had been abandoned by him and allowed to become, as the records express it, "a stinking pool," and in 1646 it had been regranted to the prominent shipping merchant, Govert Loockermans, who was a brother-in-law of Jacob van Couwenhoven, their wives being sisters. Hester Jansen, the wife of Jacob van Couwenhoven, had died seemingly in the early part of the year 1655, and he, with his family of four or five young children, still occupied the stone house down Hoogh Straet at the time of our survey, while the plot at the corner of the present Broad Street, upon which a brick dwelling-house had been built, probably either by Govert Loockermans or by Jacob van Couwenhoven himself, was at this time occupied by the mother of his deceased wife.

Adjoining this latter house, upon the east, stood, in 1655,

two small houses owned by Mighiel Paulussen, who followed the occupation of a carter. The westernmost of these was hired out to different tenants, and in the latter part of 1655 became the abode of Joseph d'Acosta, one of the Portuguese Jews, whose rough reception at New Amsterdam in the previous year has been already alluded to;¹ the easternmost of the two houses was occupied by Paulussen himself; he was from *Vraendoren*, in the Netherlands, and had married, in 1640, Maria, daughter of Joris Rappalje, who with her elder sister Sara are supposed to have been almost the first children of European extraction who were born in the colony.²

It was upon the site of these latter houses, adjoining his own plot, which lay to the west, that Jacob van Couwenhoven about this time determined to erect his long-planned brewery. There was a good well upon the premises which was probably an object to him in his undertaking, and which possibly still exists under the buildings at present covering the site. In the course of the next year, 1656, he had made arrangements with Paulussen for the acquisition of the ground and houses of the latter; the buildings were demolished or removed, and here, upon the site of the present Nos. 27 and 29 Stone Street, Van Couwenhoven commenced the erection of his brewery, which was a substantial edifice of stone, and evidently of considerable size, for it is usually spoken of, in the records, as "the great stone brew-house." All this time he was greatly hampered by his debts: in August, 1656, one of his creditors, Pieter Jacobsen Marius, made an application to the burgomasters that Van Couwenhoven should be required to sell some of his property, and apply the proceeds to the liquidation of his debts; "otherwise," the petitioner says, "he knows not when he shall obtain his own." Van Couwenhoven appeared and stated to the burgomasters that he had already placed in the hands of the Schout, or bailiff, his deed of the old church property upon the strand

¹ See *ante*, page 85.

² The claims of Jan Vinje to the honor of having been the first white child born in New Netherland will be considered farther on.

(purchased by him only three or four weeks before), to be held as security. As Jacob was one of the oldest citizens, generally well esteemed, and prominent in the church (he had been, in 1647, one of the church-wardens, in conjunction with Director-General Stuyvesant, and Jan Jansen Damen, specially chosen to complete the church edifice in the fort), the burgomasters were loath to adopt extreme measures; he was therefore notified by the magistrates to sell his property at private sale, and satisfy his creditors within fourteen days, or in default thereof, the Schout would be ordered to sell the same at public auction. Under this spur, he sold the old church lot, on the 8th of September, 1656, to Isaac de Foreest, and in December of the same year he sold at public auction his stone house, a little farther down Hoogh Straet, to Nicholas de Meyer, after which he seems to have taken up his residence upon his lot, at the corner of the present Broad Street, adjoining his as yet unfinished brewery. He was still heavily embarrassed, however, but in the latter part of 1656, we find his friend, Isaac de Foreest, coming forward to assist him. De Foreest presented at that time a petition to the Director-General and Council, for permission to contract in advance with Jacob van Couwenhoven for all the beer the latter could brew in the space of a year, "so that such a well-situated brewery as that" (of Van Couwenhoven), "may not be abandoned, but to the contrary may become the means to maintain decently that man with his family, while otherwise his ruin might be unavoidable."

These various measures seem to have been of no more than temporary relief. In September, 1655, "old Jacob" had married Magdalentje Jacobse; his first wife's children seem to have been possessed of some property which was in their father's hands and which was deemed by their other relatives to be in jeopardy; for upon January 3, 1657, Pieter van Couwenhoven his brother, and Govert Loockermans, the husband of his late wife's sister, make an application to the Council for the appointment of guardians for the children, alleging that Jacob "has been inclined to enter into second

nuptials, and is grossly encumbered with several heavy debts, which he is daily increasing."

Jacob van Couwenhoven treated with contempt, however, the demand of the guardians for an accounting: he could not keep track of his own affairs; how then could they expect him to know anything about those of any one else. The guardians were forced to report to the Council that although they had "strained every nerve," they could get no account from Jacob of his situation: an order of Council for his arrest followed promptly, but, as nothing further appears, it is to be presumed that Van Couwenhoven patched up some kind of an account of his children's estate.

The brewery was finished, probably by 1657, but the affairs of its proprietor were apparently hopelessly involved, and by the year 1663 Van Couwenhoven had surrendered his brewery and its contents to his creditors; the latter appear to have permitted Jacob to operate the brewery for several years, but in December, 1670, some months after Jacob van Couwenhoven's death, his executors conveyed the property to several individuals, — Oloff van Cortlandt, Johannes van Brugh, Cornelis van Borsum, in right of Sara Kiersted, his wife, and Hendrick Vandewater, who appear to have been a sort of syndicate of creditors.

Upon the westerly side of the house and brewery of Jacob van Couwenhoven, a narrow and irregular passageway ran, in 1655, along the ditch occupying the middle of the present Broad Street; and the grants of land along it infringed largely — in some cases to the extent of twenty feet or more — upon what we now know as Broad Street.¹ At the period mentioned, four houses had been built along the easterly side of this passageway: of these, it will be sufficient to indicate in a general way the sites and the owners' names, as none of the latter were of particular prominence. At the north

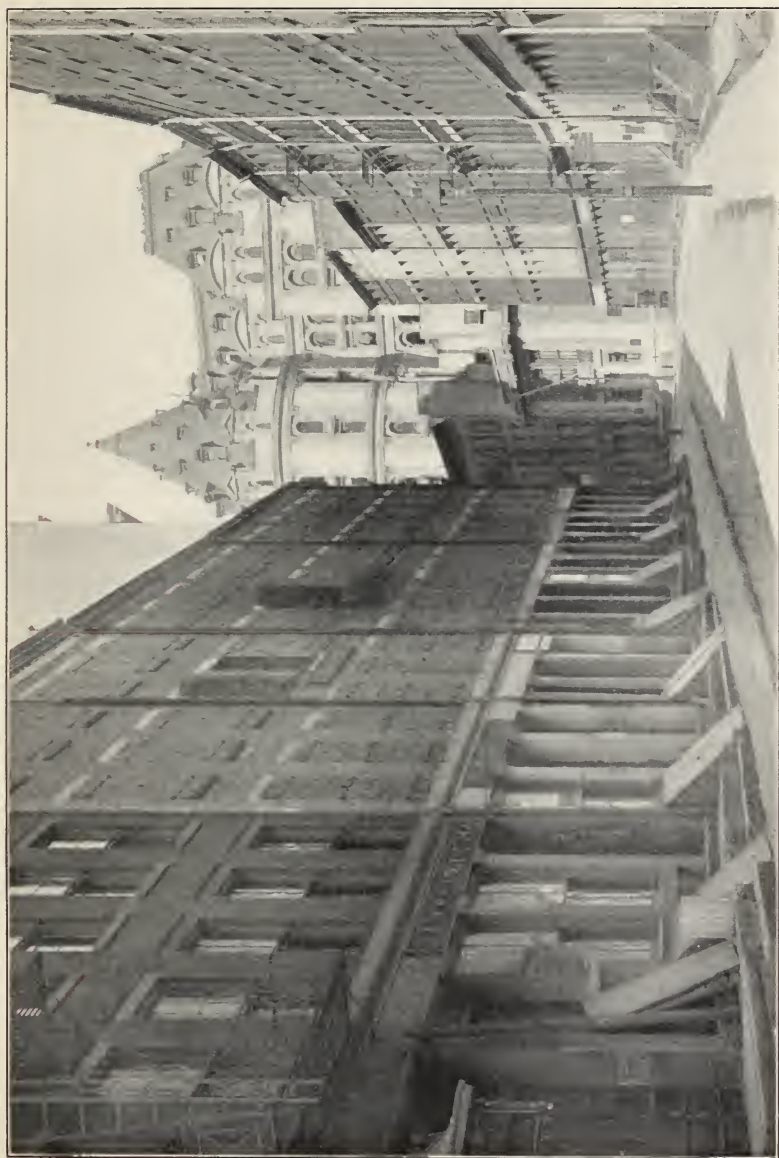
¹ In 1670 the Court of Burgomasters made an order that the fence of Van Couwenhoven's property here "should be drawn back and set on the common line" of the street.

corner of the present South William Street stood the house of Adriaen Vincent, who in 1649 is spoken of as "late cadet in the company's service," and as having come from "Aecken," which is perhaps a village of that name, some six or seven English miles from the old city of Ghent. Vincent had acquired this plot of land and built here about 1646.

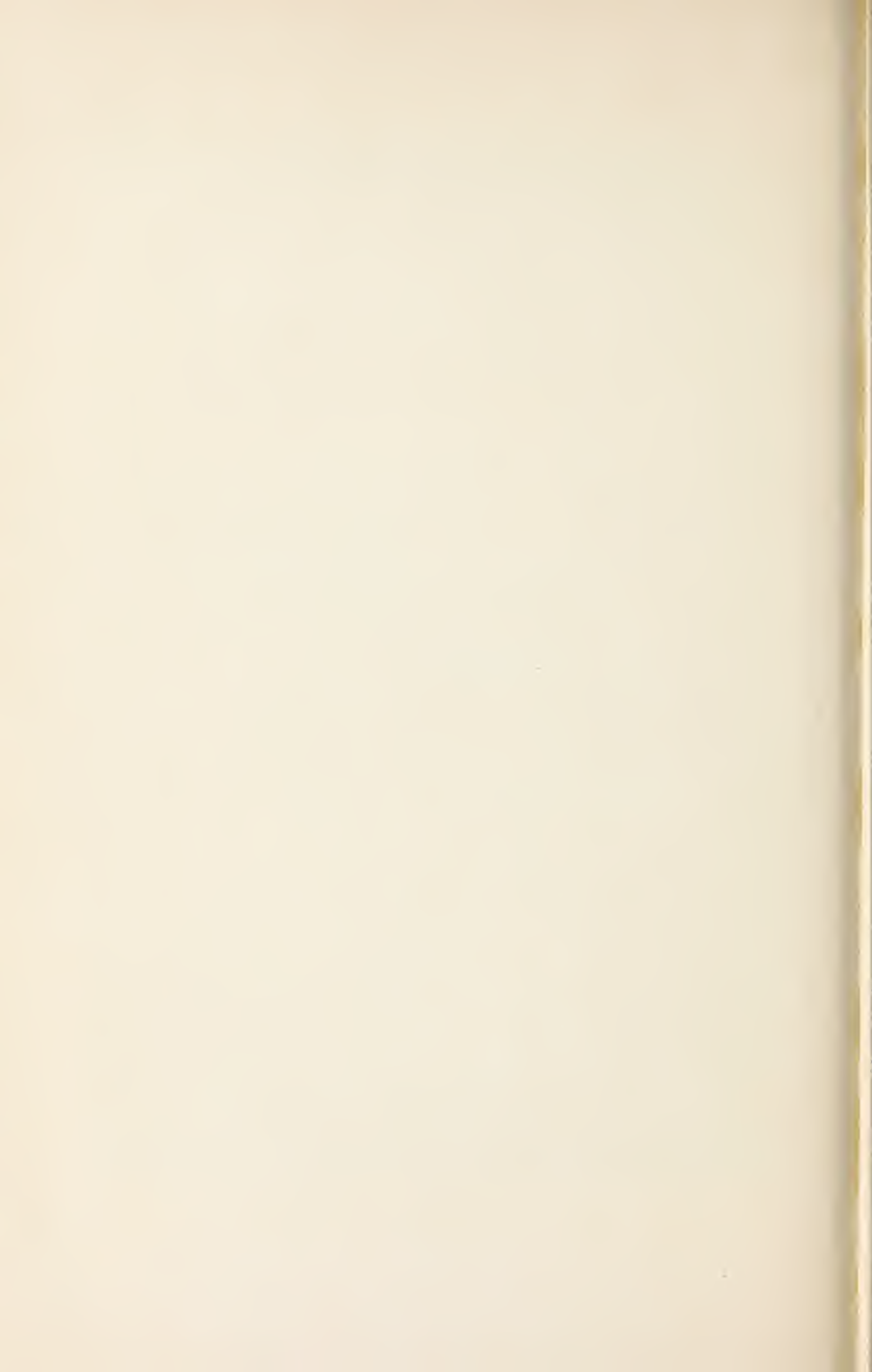
About forty feet farther north was the house of Simon Felle, a Frenchman from Dieppe in Normandy who in 1652 had purchased a house and a small plot of ground from Adrien Vincent: four years later he married Anneken Vincent of Amsterdam, a relative, either sister or daughter of Adriaen. Fifty feet more intervened between this house and that of Abram Rycken, one of the older colonists, and the ancestor of the Riker family of the present day; he had built here as early as 1647. A similar interval brings us to the house of Jochem Beekman, a shoemaker, which stood near the corner of a narrow cross-road, later known as Prinse Straet, and which, somewhat widened, exists to day as an easterly extension of Beaver Street; Beekman had purchased a small plot here from Abram Rycken, and had built in or about 1652.

As for the Prinse Straet, it and a line a few rods north of the present Beaver Street, west of Broad, formed the southerly limit of the West India Company's reserved parcel of pasture-ground, which has already been spoken of¹ as having been leased to Jan Jansen Damen in the spring of 1638: upon the termination of that lease, 1644, the Director and Council determined to grant portions of the land in building plots, and for that purpose the narrow Prinse Straet was laid out along the southern bounds of the field. At the period of our survey the street apparently contained but two houses: one was upon the north side, and about eighty-five feet east of the present Broad Street; it had been built about the year 1652 by Albert Pietersen, from Hamburgh, a trumpeter in the service of the West India Company. The other house stood upon the south side of the street about fifty feet from Broad Street, and belonged to Lourens Petersen, who had found

¹ See *ante*, page 9.



SOUTH WILLIAM STREET—THE ANCIENT SLYCK STEGH.
Showing the site of the "Bark Mill," and first "Church," at the extreme left.



his way to New Amsterdam from the seaport of Tonsberg at the mouth of the Christiania Fiord in Norway. The house is mentioned as standing here as early as 1647. Beyond this point, the old pasture-field had been recently broken up into plots of about one-half acre each, which in 1654 had been granted to several of the magnates of the settlement, — to Nicasius de Sille, member of the Council, to Secretary Van Tienhoven, to Carel van Brugge, late commissary at Fort Orange, and to Dominie Samuel Drisius. These plots extended up to the present Wall Street, and were not as yet improved at the time of our survey: they were the *tuy-nen* or gardens; and a few years afterwards, when the present Exchange Place was laid out through them, it was called by the Dutch, *Tuyn Straet*, and by the English subsequently, Garden Street.

Back of the house and brewery of Jacob van Couwenhoven ran a narrow lane, not very agreeable to the eye, perhaps, in the seventeenth century, but of considerable interest at the present day, in the widened and somewhat extended form under which it is known as South William Street. It is of especial interest because it is one of the earliest and quite probably the very earliest of the Dutch thoroughfares remaining as originally located. Its origin can be traced back clearly to the year 1625 or 1626, — to a period when there was as yet no occasion for a road along the East River shore, when Broad Street was a swamp and nothing more, — when Beaver and Marketfield, Stone and Bridge streets had not been thought of, and when the site of Broadway was covered with trees and bushes.

When the first Dutch vessels arrived in 1625, with agricultural colonists for Manhattan Island and for its immediate vicinity, they brought with them over one hundred head of cattle, besides a considerable number of horses, sheep, and hogs. As the few inhabitants of the place, who for the previous thirteen or fourteen years had been clustered about the log block-house under Hendrick Corstiaensen's command,

were mostly Indian traders, depending for their sustenance upon supplies from the neighboring Indians and from the Netherlands, they had not engaged in agriculture, and in all probability the island was still in an uncleared condition, almost up to the blockhouse itself, since the wood which the inhabitants needed for building purposes or for fuel would naturally, owing to the difficulties of land carriage, have been floated or brought by boat from points along the shores. There being no place in which the cattle of the new colonists could be securely kept upon Manhattan Island, we are informed that on their arrival they were at first landed upon Nutten, now Governor's Island, and allowed to roam at large there until a proper enclosure could be constructed for them upon the island of Manhattan. The necessary clearing and enclosure was commenced at once, and was without doubt the tract of ground extending from a short distance north of the line of the present Beaver Street to a line about forty or fifty feet north of the present Wall Street, which latter limit marked the southern boundary of the Vinjé or Damen farm, which must have been soon established after the period above mentioned. It is uncertain whether this enclosure extended farther west than the present Broadway, though it is quite probable that it reached the North River shore: upon the east it probably extended a short distance east of the present William Street. This tract, or the portion of it east of Broadway, formed the reserved land or pasture of the West India Company, which, as we have seen (*ante*, page 9), was in 1638 leased to Jan Jansen Damen, having been then supplanted by the later pasture-ground, or "commons," now forming the City Hall Park and its vicinity.

The land thus enclosed, however, was nearly cut in twain by the as yet undrained swamp along the present Broad Street, and a passageway became necessary to the eastern portion of the enclosure; from the rude bridge thrown across the brook which drained the swamp, a narrow lane led along the line of the present South William Street, and turning northwards near the spot now occupied by the western end of

the well-known Delmonico building which stands at the intersection of South William and Beaver streets, it reached the pasture at a point a little north of the line of the latter street. The northern turn to this lane became unnecessary after the opening of Smith's Street (present William Street) in 1656 or 1657, and that portion of it was granted within a few years thereafter to private parties. It is shown, upon "the Duke's Plan" of 1661, and upon the Nicoll plan of 1668, as still partially open, but built upon and obstructed. After Hoogh (Stone) Straet had become a thoroughfare along the river, an opening was made from the lane into the latter street, and this still exists under the name Mill Street or Lane, a mere open passageway between two buildings.

As might be supposed, this narrow lane running through low ground and trodden at first by the negro wood-choppers and bark-gatherers of the West India Company, then by the cattle driven to and from the pasture field, and eventually abutted upon by the rear of the houses and lots along Hoogh Straet, was never considered a particularly choice locality. It was not until 1672 that it was ordered to be paved, and then apparently only with foot-paths. In the Oude Zyd, or old quarter of the City of Amsterdam, there was a narrow street of just about the same length as this lane, running between two of the canals of the city. It was situated in a district replete with interesting associations; standing at the western end of this street, where it opened upon the canal known as the Achter Burg Wal, one saw at his left several ancient buildings whose arched gateways opened into spacious enclosures,—these were relics of the old Romanist days, two convents long before suppressed and converted into a portion of the Great Hospital of Amsterdam; beyond them was the old church of the Knights Templars, and the ancient Turf Market; these edifices and grounds half surrounded another building, of a very different character, on the opposite side of the Achter Burg Wal canal and at its termination; it was the famous Heerlogement, — the City Hostelry, open to none but persons of standing and distinction; its capacious quad-

rangle stood surrounded by moats like a fortress, and was approached over an arched bridge. To the right of the observer, across the same canal, was another famous building, — the ancient convent of St. Cecilia, changed in the year 1594 to another hostelry of exclusive character, known as the Prinsenhof, which was associated with the names of many persons of distinction who had sojourned there: prominent among these were Marie de Médicis, Queen of France, and her beautiful but unfortunate daughter, Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I., King of England. The other, or eastern end of this street, also opened out upon noteworthy localities: immediately to the right were the walls of the Oude Mannen Huys, or Home for the Aged, — one of the noble charities of the good Hester Klaas, in the sixteenth century; while at the distance of two or three blocks to the left stood the Dol Huys, or Hospital for the Insane, — likewise a sixteenth-century foundation; and beyond this was the great house of the East India Company.

Notwithstanding the proximity of its lofty neighbors, however, the little street in question remained very unassuming indeed, and had received the humble appellation of Slyck Straet, or the Muddy Street. It was perhaps in remembrance of this street at home — since nearly every street in New Amsterdam bore the name of a corresponding street in the old city — that the lane we have been describing received the designation of Slyck Steegh. When the English began to come into the town, after the surrender in 1664, the names of the streets were changed or modified in many instances. The Slyck Steegh is spoken of in certain deeds about the year 1679 as “Dirty Lane,” and about 1683, as “the Mude Street.” Although Dirty Lane was a familiar, not to say prominent, London street in the seventeenth century,¹ the name never became

¹ “He mounted synod-men, and rode ’em
To Dirty Lane and Little Sodom,” etc.

[Butler’s *Hudibras*, Part II., Canto i., 367.]

In 1830, besides the historic “Dirty Lane” of “*Hudibras*,” — in Southwark, near the notorious “Mint,” — there was another street, with the same official desig-

popular in New York, and the Slyck Steegh gradually came to be called, from the horse-mill upon it (of which we shall speak), Mill Street or Lane. It retained this name till about 1832,¹ when it was extended through into William Street, and its former historic name was changed to the singularly inappropriate one of South William Street.

However uninviting the Slyck Steegh may have been from an æsthetic point of view, New Yorkers should not forget that upon its northern side was erected, in 1626, the earliest building in New Amsterdam, of which the site can be pointed out at the present day. By a communication from the colony in the above year,² it is stated that François Molemaecker (the mill-wright) is employed in the construction of a horse mill, with a spacious room, to accommodate a large congregation, and it was at that time also proposed to add to it a tower, in which the bells captured by the Dutch and brought from Porto Rico were to be hung. This mill, with its small belfry tower, the conical roof of which can be distinguished in the Justus Danckers View of New Amsterdam, of about 1650, was erected upon the north side of the lane afterwards known as the Slyck Steegh, and upon ground at present covered by the buildings Nos. 32 and 34 South William Street, occupied as a wine storehouse. The mill, which was one of three erected by the West India Company at its new settlement,³ was employed in the grinding of bark to be used for tanning purposes, and its location near the edge of the Broad Street swamp was doubtless determined by the availability of the ground for tan pits.

Here, then, in the loft, or upper story of the bark mill, in

nation, in the Strand, near the Savoy, and still another one in Shoreditch, not very far from St. Leonard's church.

¹ In the eighteenth century, it was occasionally spoken of as "The Jews' Lane," from the Jewish synagogue which stood upon its north side.

² Set forth in Wagenaar's *Hist. Verhael*, Amst., 1621-32.

³ The others were wind-mills, one a saw-mill situated on Nutten or Governor's Island; the other, a grist-mill, seems to have stood upon the bluff above the North River shore, a short distance northwest of the fort. Upon its accidental destruction by fire, a new one was built a little southwest of the fort. It is the earlier grist-mill which is shown in the Hartgers View of New Amsterdam, of about 1632.

1628, Dominie Jonas Michaelis assumed the charge of the first religious congregation within the limits of the present State of New York. He was a man of middle age, who was born in North Holland in 1577, and who had entered as a divinity student at Leyden, in the year 1600, where he is said to have been contemporaneous with the famous Dutch scholar, Ger. Johannes Vossius, and with Jacob Cats, who afterwards attained such great fame as a poet, in the Netherlands. Of his further history we know but little, save that it is stated that he was settled as pastor at Nieuwbokswoude, a village in North Holland, in 1612, and two years later, in the church at Hem (Hemsteede?). In 1624, upon the taking of San Salvador, in Brazil, from the Portuguese, by the Dutch Admiral, Heyn, Dominie Michaelis received the appointment of minister at that place. The town being retaken in the next year by the Portuguese, however, Michaelis was transferred to the Dutch possessions on the coast of Guinea, then recently captured from the Portuguese; he did not remain here long, however, for in 1627 he returned to the Netherlands, and in January of the following year he sailed for New Amsterdam. He was evidently a man of considerable mental attainments, for at New Amsterdam he preached at times in the French language to the Walloon settlers. His sole literary remains of which we have knowledge are to be found in a letter to the fatherland, bearing date August 11, 1628, in which he appears to be an earnest and patient minister of the Christian religion, struggling against more than common trials in the new country in which he had cast his lot.¹

Both Dominie Michaelis and his congregation must have often found themselves contrasting painfully the new conditions surrounding them with the old. Among the men and women who met here to worship, there were those who remembered the Oude Kerk — the old church — of Amsterdam, with its thirty environing chapels, dark with the very richness of their stained glass adornment, and where a score of many-branched lustres shed a soft light on the benches of the

¹ See the letter, with notes of Doctor O'Callaghan, in 2 N. Y. Col. Doc. 763.



VIEW OF THE OUDE KERK, OR OLD CHURCH, AMSTERDAM.
From Wagenaar's "Amsterdam."

grave magistrates of the city, and on the marble tombs of great men who had died for their country on land and on sea, in the yet unfinished war for Dutch independence; others had memories of the great church of St. Lawrence at Rotterdam, looking down majestically upon the placid canals which environed it, and upon the statue of that giant of intellect, Erasmus; some had listened to the chiming of the four hundred bells of the "New Church" of Delft, or had contemplated with reverence the tomb of William the Silent in that famous edifice; some had worshipped in the sublime cathedral of Antwerp, the lofty and solemn Gothic arches of which were a sermon in themselves. Now, from the windows of their unadorned loft over the bark mill on the edge of Blommaert's Vly, they looked northward over a rough pasture-field gently sloping up to a low ridge of hills, where the trees which then covered the Pine Street and Cedar Street of to-day were gradually disappearing under the axes of the negro wood-choppers; looking to the east, between them and the East River shore, and upon the broad river itself, and in the Long Island forests beyond, no signs of human life were discernible, unless perchance an Indian canoe or two paddled along the shore; only to the southwest, across the narrow swamp which intervened, a few thatched cottages clustered around the slowly rising walls of the fort.

To many of the congregation of Dominie Michaelis in this rude place of worship, the lessons of religion must have appealed with peculiar force amidst the hardships and uncertainties with which they were surrounded, and in the loss of most of the old associations of their lives. Death came, too, and within these rough walls often sounded the solemn words of the reader: "Ik ben de opstanding en het leven; die in mij gelooft, zal leven, al ware hij ook gestorven; en een iegelijk die leeft, en in mij gelooft, zal niet sterven in eeuwigheid," — recalling to his hearers the profound mystery of the Resurrection and the Life; even the good Dominie himself must have heard them with new emotions when, in the very year of his arrival, he, with his two little motherless daughters, fol-

lowed the funeral procession of his deceased wife over the little bridge, across the Marekveldt, and to the barren spot just north of it, upon a hillock overlooking the North River, where the dead of the new settlement slept their last sleep in unmarked graves. The retirement of Dominie Michaelis, and the advent of Dominie Bogardus, in 1633, was marked by the erection of a separate church building near the river shore, and upon the present Pearl Street, of which previous mention has been made.¹ The bark mill, no longer required for public uses,² seems to have been in part turned into quarters for some of the negro slaves of the West India Company. In a deed of 1643, this, with a parcel of land adjacent, is spoken of as "the negroes' plantation," being doubtless a vegetable plot cultivated by them; in another instrument, of 1656, it is alluded to as "the house the negroes live in." Somewhere about this latter period, a new bark mill was established by private parties, very near the southwest corner of the present Broad Street and Exchange Place, and the old mill, which was under the control of the Deaconry of the Church in 1660 (and which may, indeed, have been so controlled from the period of its use as a church), was sold in 1663 to Govert Loockermans, and remained in existence many years.³

The only other house which appears to have existed upon the Slyck Steegh, in 1655, was that of Evert Duyckink. This man, who was a glassmaker from Boreken, in Westphalia, a small town a few miles beyond the boundary of the Netherlands, received a grant of somewhat more than half an acre of ground upon the north side of the Slyck Steegh, in 1643. Marrying, two or three years later, Hendrickje Simons, a young woman from his own district in Westphalia, he appears to have built upon this ground, and to have resided here a

¹ See *ante*, page 58.

² It seems to be the mill referred to in a report of 1638 to the West India Company, as being then out of repair.

³ In 1667 Loockermans sold the old mill to Jacques Cousseau; the latter sold the premises to Carsten Jansen in January, 1671, and in 1679 Jansen's executor sold the same to Clement Sebrah.

number of years.¹ The location of his house is uncertain, but there are some reasons for supposing that it stood nearly one hundred feet east of the bark mill, and upon or very near the site of the present buildings, Nos. 20 and 22 South William Street, but some twenty-five feet or more back from the north side of the lane. In 1674, Duyckink, who had some time before removed to another part of the town, sold his house on Slyck Steegh, with what then remained of his original plot (being in size about three city lots), to Jacob Melyn, the son of Director-General Stuyvesant's old antagonist, Cornelis Melyn. Jacob Melyn held this property for many years, but it does not seem to have been a profitable investment for him, for in or about 1697, he being then a resident of Boston, we find him giving a letter of instruction to Abraham Schellinger of Easthampton, Long Island (who was probably his nephew, the son of his sister Cornelia, wife of Jacob Schellinger, already referred to), to repair to New York and endeavor to sell his house on Mill Street, "and if no sayle can be obtained, nor person be to be gott to live in't on any acct., then to naile up doors and windows with roff boards, and secure the glass." The agent was not, however, forced to this last resort of a disgusted landlord, for in May, 1697, he sold the premises to Doctor Johannes Kerfbyl, formerly of Amsterdam, a prominent physician of his day in the city. Doctor Kerfbyl was a resident of the city as early as 1686, when we find him dwelling upon the west side of Broad Street. He is said to have been a graduate of Leyden, and was at one time a member of the Governor's Council at New York, but his success excited jealousy among some of his neighbors, and he was denounced as a "charlatan." It was probably the Doctor's son, of the same name as his father, who was naturalized by Act of Parliament, in 6 Anne (1707). As for the

¹ His family included Cornelis Jansen, an orphan lad of thirteen years at the period of our survey, whose parents had been killed by the Indians at their farm at Sapokanican (the later Greenwich), in the war of 1643. Their three children, aged respectively four, three, and one years of age, at that time, were received into different families in the town.

Doctor himself, he must have died soon after his purchase of this property in 1697. The premises then passed into the hands of Jewish purchasers, and became the site of the first Jewish synagogue in New York, which was established here between the years 1697 and 1700.¹

¹ The closed portion, or northerly turning (before referred to) of the Slyck Steegh, appears to have been in part in the possession of one Richard Elliott, a cooper, in the latter part of the seventeenth century. This man, who was a resident of New York as early as 1672, dwelt here for many years with his wife and four sons. Of the latter, three died young and unmarried, while the fourth son, Henry, went to sea about the year 1701, and was never again heard of. Both Elliott and his wife died prior to the year 1714, and as no person appeared to claim any interest in the property, it remained apparently ownerless till 1721, when, under the legal procedure then in force, the property was adjudged to have escheated to the British Crown for want of heirs. Thereupon the Council made the following curious order,—a handsome tribute to the worthy and modest pastor of the little French Huguenot Church on King (now Pine) Street: "Forasmuch as his Majesty's Council of this province did conceive that the granting thereof" (that is, of Letters Patent of the escheated land) "as an encouragement to learning, could not but be acceptable to his Majesty, and that they knew not of a more proper and deserving person of such favor than Mr. Lewis Rou, minister of the French Church in this city, who in Divinity, History, and Cronology [*sic*], and many other parts of learning, is as great a master as any in his Majesty's colonies in America;" they therefore give their assent to the issuing of Letters Patent to him. This is apparently the property now occupied by the rear addition, upon South William Street, of the Delmonico building.

CHAPTER XIV

THE HOUSES OF BARENT JANSEN, JAN NAGEL, CLAES CARSTENSEN, AND JOCHEM CALDER.—PIETER ANDRIESSEN AND HIS TROUBLES WITH THE INDIANS.—NICHOLAS DE MEYER.—WESSEL EVERTSEN, THE FISHERMAN.—RUT JACOBSEN

UPON the north side of Hoogh (Stone) Straet, and immediately east of the ground where, soon after the period of our survey, Jacob van Couwenhoven erected his brewery, already mentioned, there stood, in the year 1655, three small houses in close juxtaposition. The eight-story yellow brick building of an electrical construction company, which now covers the site of these humble dwellings, towers above the surrounding warehouses, as the cottages themselves were over-towered in the seventeenth century by Van Couwenhoven's "great stone brew-house."

The first, or westernmost of these buildings, was the house of Barent Jansen. He was one of the earlier colonists, but hardly anything in relation to him can be gleaned from the records. His very patent or ground-brief for this land cannot be found, and its existence is only learned by allusions to it in other instruments. It was a parcel of about thirty-seven English feet frontage upon Hoogh Straet, and it extended back to the Slyck Steegh. Upon its western side it would appear that Barent Jansen must have built a small house at an early date. Intimately connected with Jansen in some way—probably by marriage—was one Claes Carstensen, a Norwegian of middle age, from the village of Sonde in the southern part of Norway.

Barent Jansen must have died before the spring of 1647,

for in March of that year a grant which had been made to him, of fifty morgens, or about one hundred acres of land on the west side of the Hudson River, but for which he had never received his ground-brief, was vested, by the Director and Council in Claes Carstensen. In what way this latter individual obtained an interest in the Hoogh Straet property we do not know; but soon after 1647 he is found in possession of a small house upon the easterly half of the Jansen grant, which house he sold a few years after that date to Jan Nagel. As to the house upon the westerly side of the plot, supposed to have been built by Barent Jansen, it appears in 1662 as then in the joint occupation and tenure of Claes Carstensen and of Jan Barentsen Kunst, probably the young son of Barent Jansen.

Claes Carstensen, together with Jan Forbus (usually spoken of as Jan de Swede), Pieter Jansen Noorman, Dirck Volekertsen and Jacob Haes, formed a little clique of Scandinavians, closely associated in various enterprises, and owners at an early date of a large portion of the lands embraced in the present Williamsburgh and Green Point in Brooklyn.¹

The dwelling-house held by Claes Carstensen upon the eastern part of Barent Jansen's ground, as above mentioned, was sold by him in 1653 to Jan Nagel, who resided here at the time of our survey. This man, who was from Limburg in the Netherlands, had come to New Amsterdam, like many others among the colonists, as a soldier in the employ of the West India Company, and is spoken of in 1647 as "late cadet" in that service; in later years he was commonly known as "Sergeant Nagel." Jan Nagel must have died about the year 1657, but his son, of the same name,² became prominent some twenty years later, as one of

¹ Carstensen was, it seems, in high repute among the colonists on account of his acquaintance with the Indian language. Riker, in his "History of Harlem," states that he acted as interpreter, upon the occasion of the treaty with the Indians at the general gathering upon Schreyers Hoek, south of the fort, on August 30, 1645.

² This son, who was born in 1653, seems to have been really named Jeuriaen

the earlier settlers of the town of Haerlem, who with his associate Jan Dykman, ancestor of the family of that name, restored to cultivation the farms on the extreme northern end of Manhattan Island, which had been devastated by the Indians in 1655, and had lain waste and abandoned for more than a score of years. The small antiquated yellow farmhouse, which, with its decaying orchard and neglected fields, — almost the last remnants of the farming days of Manhattan Island, — was still to be seen as late as the beginning of the year 1901 upon the banks of the Harlem River just below King's Bridge, and which often excited the curious attention of the traveller approaching New York City on the trains of the New York Central Railway, must have stood very near the site — if not exactly upon it — of the Nagel farmhouse of the seventeenth century;¹ and the uncared-for burial-ground of several generations of that family lies a few hundred feet west of the site of the house. The spot, with its memories of Indian warfare, of the murdered Tobias Teunissen, and of the marching, counter-marching, and fighting of Americans, British, and Hessians in the War of the Revolution, ought to have been preserved and maintained by the City of New York, as one of the very few surviving mementos of early days.

But to return to our survey of Hoogh Straet; the third, or easternmost of the three small houses previously spoken of as occupying, in the year 1655, the site of the present large building known as Nos. 31 to 35 Stone Street, was the cottage of one Jochem Calder, who had obtained a ground-brief for the land in 1645, and who seems to have built within a short time thereafter upon the westerly side of his plot of about thirty-seven English feet in frontage. Very little

Jansen Nagel, but, like many others of the colonists, he was rarely known by his christened name. He married, while still very young, Rebecca, the daughter of Resolved Waldron.

¹ It was destroyed by fire soon after the date above mentioned. The small Dutch bricks which are worked into the substantial foundations of this house afford additional support to the statements in the text.

information, however, can be gathered from the records respecting this man; he had died prior to 1659, in which year his widow Magdalena married Gysbert Teunissen.

Passing over two garden spots, or vacant places, belonging to this last-mentioned plot and to the next one, we come to the house of Pieter Andriessen, upon the site of which at the present day stands the building No. 41 Stone Street. Andriessen was a native of the province of Brabant, in the Netherlands, and came over to New Amsterdam in 1639 in the ship "*De Brant van Trogen*" ("The Conflagration of Troy"), with Captain Jochem Pietersen Kuyter and Jonas Bronck. Upon their arrival at New Amsterdam, Andriessen and one Laurens Duytts, his fellow-passenger upon the vessel, were hired by Jonas Bronck to undertake the clearing of a tract of five hundred acres which Bronck purchased from the Indians upon his arrival, and which lay upon the mainland beyond the Harlem River; it covered what is now known as Morrisania, and Pieter Andriessen and his co-laborer were therefore the pioneers of the present Borough of the Bronx.¹ How long Andriessen was employed upon Bronck's land we are not informed. Jonas Bronck died about the year 1643, and his property passed into other hands. In 1645, Andriessen obtained the grant of his lot of about thirty-seven feet front on Hoogh Straet, and no doubt soon built there, as the officers of the West India Company were, as a rule, disposed to insist upon a speedy improvement of plots granted by them in the town. In the fall of the same year, however, he also acquired a farm of about one hundred and fifty acres upon the East River shore of Long Island, being a tract upon which one Jan Jacobsen Carpenel, familiarly known as Jan of Haerlem, had previously begun a clearing. This farm, which covered the middle portion of the locality along the

¹ The agreement between Bronck, Andriessen, and Duytts in 1639, is still extant. Bronck was to advance to the two men 121 florins to pay their board upon the ship. The two were to have liberty to plant tobacco and maize upon Bronck's land upon condition that they should break up a certain quantity of new land every two years, surrendering the other to the owner, for the planting of grain.

East River shore, generally known some years ago as Ravenswood, extended about half a mile back from the river to a small stream called in later times Sunswick Creek, which is yet to be seen flowing through a narrow salt meadow. The site of the farmhouse here was nearly opposite the foot of the present Fifty-fifth Street on Manhattan Island. Pieter Andriessen, however, had an additional occupation to that of a farmer; he was a chimney-sweep, — an employment of considerable importance in those days of wood fires and of thatched roofs, — and from that fact he was commonly known in the town as Pieter de Schoorsteenveger. As this occupation of Pieter must have necessitated his frequent attendance in the town, and as he does not appear to have married till a comparatively late day, he seems to have been in the habit of shifting his quarters backward and forward between his house on Hoogh Straet and his plantation on Long Island, as occasion might require. Neither of these establishments was on a very magnificent scale, it is probable, and the farm on Long Island seems to have been tenanted by several negro slaves of Andriessen.

In 1648, Pieter Andriessen appears in the list of tavern-keepers in the settlement. As, however, his house upon Hoogh Straet was directly opposite the "Great Tavern" of the West India Company (afterwards the Town House), it is hardly probable that he would have been permitted to maintain a tavern there, and he is much more likely to have kept liquor upon tap at his Long Island farm, to accommodate his few neighbors and their workmen, as well as the woodcutters, quarrymen, and boatmen whose employment called them up and down along the East River.

In September, 1655, after the outbreak of the Indian troubles of that year, there was a general flight to New Amsterdam of the panic-stricken settlers who had survived the first onslaught of the Indians. Hastily throwing their personal effects into the boats with which most of them were provided as means of conveyance, and turning loose into the woods the cattle, which in general they could not remove,

they abandoned their exposed plantations, and with their families took refuge under the guns of Fort Amsterdam.

Unlike the Indian attacks of 1643-44, that of 1655 was directed, in many instances, not so much to murder and to general devastation, as to securing captives for the sake of a ransom. In this way the abandoned plantations were often spared, in the hope apparently of entrapping the colonists.

Four weeks had gone by since the first attack by the Indians, when Pieter Andriessen determined to take a party out to his plantation on Long Island, in order to try to recover some of his cattle. The party, consisting of Andriessen and five others, sailed up the East River one October morning, and finding nothing to alarm them, landed at Andriessen's farm, and set about scouring the neighboring woods and thickets for the animals. The Dutch, however, had been discovered by a party of Indians, who, to the number of about thirty, set upon them and took them all prisoners. Sending two of their captives back to New Amsterdam, with a statement of what the captors required in the way of cloth, lead, gunpowder, kettles, guns, knives, shoes, axes, etc., — as a ransom, — the savages retained Andriessen and three of his companions as their prisoners, all but one of these being wounded. As, however, Andriessen's party had left the town without the knowledge and consent of the military authorities, and indeed against an express prohibition, the Director and Council, after much discussion of the case, declined to act for various reasons, one of which was "because when the other savages, who keep yet seventy-three prisoners of our nation, understood that such an extravagant ransom¹ has been paid for four, they would demand a more enormous sum." Andriessen and his comrades, therefore, remained in the hands of the savages for a while longer; but within a couple of weeks, — apparently stimulated by the threat of the Indians, to carry the remaining captives into the interior of the country — the authorities at New Amsterdam

¹ The value of the goods required may have amounted to \$150 or \$200 of the present currency.

came to an agreement with the natives respecting the amount of ransom, and most or all of the prisoners were restored.

Matters, however, remained in a very unsettled condition, in spite of the apparent settlement with the Indians; and frequent reports of depredations in the vicinity of New Amsterdam (of which the natives generally disclaimed any knowledge), kept the community in a constant state of uncertainty and dread. While things were in this state, there sat, on the night of the 4th of November of this year, 1655, around a blazing fire on the wide kitchen hearth of Pieter Andriessen's rough farmhouse near the East River shore, his negro slave Stephen, and a crony of the latter, Captain Francis Fyn's negro man, who had rowed across from his master's farmhouse on Varcken (now Blackwell's) Island, for a social evening. With this pair of worthies was Claes de Ruyter, a Dutchman of jovial disposition from New Amsterdam, who is understood to have been a former trooper in the West India Company's service. The negro Stephen had evidently been sent to take charge of his master's property, either because he ran comparatively little risk of being carried off by the Indians, or because Pieter Andriessen himself was not yet recovered from the effects of his late encounter with the savages. The presence of Claes de Ruyter, however, at this time and place, is not susceptible of so easy an explanation.

Rations seem to have been rather scanty with the party at Pieter Andriessen's house; the keen autumn air had given them sharp appetites; and as the long evening wore away, some one—we will suppose it was Stephen—remembered that there were some chickens left upon the farm of the nearest neighbor, Joris Stevensen de Caper. The trio promptly agreed that these fowls ought not to be left for the Indians, or for wolves, wild-cats, and foxes, and an expedition was determined upon to recover some, at least, of them. A walk of about a mile, over rough pasture-fields, and through woods and thickets, brought the party in sight of the low farmhouse of Joris Stevensen. This house, of

which all vestiges have long ago disappeared, was situated on the edge of the salt marshes nearly half a mile east of the present Queens County Court House in Long Island City, — just where De Capen, or “the sailor,” could bring his market-boat almost to the door of his house by sailing up a small creek called Canapaukah, a branch of the Mespat Kill, or present Newtown Creek. Joris Stevensen’s family had abandoned their exposed dwelling, as had most of the farmers’ families in the country, but the men came to the farm occasionally to attend to necessary work. To guard against any interference by possible inmates of the house, the marauding party commenced operations by a vigorous battering against the door of the house, accompanied by a whole storm of blood-curdling yells and war-whoops, in which we may suppose that Claes de Ruyter, who was familiar with the Indians, and who often acted as go-between for them and for the whites, bore a prominent part. The expedition was, in short, entirely successful, and Claes and his companions returned to Pieter Andriessen’s farmhouse, where they calmly proceeded to pluck and to dress their plunder.

In the mean time the Joris Stevensen farm had not been entirely deserted. That individual himself, together with his father-in-law, Harmen Hendricksen, and one Teunis Jansen van Commel, had been engaged during the day in threshing out some grain, and at night had disposed themselves to sleep in the barn. Scared almost out of their wits by the supposed Indian attack, and fearing to be discovered or burned in the barn, they had escaped into the night and sought places of concealment for themselves in various directions. One of the fugitives made his way across the fields to the house of his neighbor Andriessen; here he discovered a light, and approaching carefully to reconnoitre, he heard, to his great joy, some conversation in Dutch; thereupon he boldly entered the house, where his appearance was about as agreeable to Claes de Ruyter and the negroes as was that of Banquo’s ghost to Macbeth in the banquet hall

at the palace of Fores. The party had, in fact, just spitted Joris Stevensen's fowls, and were caught red-handed. Claes was profuse in his apologies, expatiated on the desperation of starving men, promised to pay for the fowls when he returned to town, and incidentally suggested that it was not necessary to say anything about a trifling matter of this kind.

News of this affair found its way to New Amsterdam, however, and produced a considerable effect upon the authorities there, for it showed them that other agencies besides the Indians might be at work keeping up the state of disorder in the country. While this occurrence was yet fresh, on the morning of the 8th of November, 1655, the people of New Amsterdam were again excited by a spectacle which had been too common during the preceding few weeks, — a column of smoke rising above the woods from some burning building along the East River shore. The precise location of the fire was not determinable from the town, but soon news arrived from up the river that it was the farmhouse of Jacob Haes, situated beyond the Noormans Kill, on the shore of what is now called Green Point. On this same morning, Director-General Stuyvesant, with Nicasius de Sille, one of the members of his Council, appeared before the court of burgomasters in the Town Hall with a request, which was duly entered upon the minutes of that body, "that the fiscal rigidly examine Teunis Jansen as to what he saw at the house of Pieter Schoorsteenveger; whereas, now Jacob Haey's house is burning, and it might possibly happen in the same manner."

An examination into the late pranks of Claes de Ruyter followed, accordingly, but we do not find that it threw any light upon the later affair, and the matter seems to have been dropped without any further proceedings. Stuyvesant and his Council were determined, however, to prevent troubles of this sort in future; and upon the 18th of January, 1656, followed the famous "Order against Isolated Plantations," commanding all the subjects of the Colony to settle close to

one another in villages, neighborhoods, and hamlets, by the following spring, imposing a penalty upon such persons as remain upon exposed plantations, and giving them notice that they must not expect any aid from the authorities in case of trouble with the natives. Four years later, in fact, owing to frequent disregard of the ordinance, notice was given by the Council to farmers still living upon isolated farms, to pull down their houses, and it is believed that a few houses were actually destroyed under the orders of the authorities, before the surrender to the English, in 1664, rendered the ordinance of the Council obsolete.

After these proceedings of the Council, there is room to suppose that Pieter Andriessen became, for a time at least, a permanent resident of his house on Hoogh Straet. He married, in 1661, Geertruyd Samsens, a widow, and we find that in 1664 he had a daughter, Jannetje, baptized in the Dutch Church; but in 1668 it appears that both he and his wife had died, and two years later the Hoogh Straet house was sold, by the representatives of her estate, to Barent Coersen.

Next adjoining the house of Pieter Andriessen upon the east, in a garden of nearly seventy-five feet front upon Hoogh Straet, stood at the time of our survey the dwelling-house of Jacob van Couwenhoven, previously alluded to,¹ which was sold in the following year to Nicholas de Meyer. This building was of stone, and of much greater pretensions than most of its neighbors, for at its sale to De Meyer, which was at public auction, it was already mortgaged for about 3500 guilders, or \$1400 of the present currency; it stood upon the site of the present buildings, No. 47, and a part of No. 45 Stone Street. This house was occupied as a residence for more than thirty years by Nicholas de Meyer. He was from Hamburg, then claimed to be under the jurisdiction of the Duchy of Holstein, from which cause he was occasionally called by the Dutch of New Amsterdam, Nicolaas van Hol-

¹ See *ante*, p. 146.



STONE STREET.

Looking towards Hanover Square. The ancient Hoogh Straet.

steyn. The ordinary appellation of De Meyer (that is, the "steward" or "farmer") seems, however, to have been preferred by Nicholas and his descendants, and became the family name. Nicholas had married, in 1655, Luda, or Lydia, daughter of the ex-fiscal, or prosecutor, Hendrick van Dyke; he became, in later years, a man of considerable prominence in the city, having been one of the magistrates in 1664, at the time of the surrender to the English. Afterwards, in 1676, he was mayor of the city. He was a man of active business interests and took a considerable part in developing the settlement of the village of Haerlem, where he had purchased various parcels of land amounting to between sixty and seventy acres in extent; he also owned a wind-mill near the intersection of the present Chatham and Duane streets, and a brewery in the Smits Vly, or modern Pearl Street, near Platt Street. After the death of Nicholas de Meyer, in 1690, the property upon Stone Street was divided, and the original homestead passed to his daughter Anna Catrina, wife of Jan Willemsen Noering. The eldest son of Nicholas, Wilhelmus or William de Meyer, became a prominent citizen of Esopus and Kingston in the present county of Ulster.

As we advance along the road, or "High Street," farther eastwards from the fort, the plots granted to settlers become larger, for they were given at a time when there was no immediate likelihood of a demand for the land for the construction of dwellings. In this way, Wessell Evertsen, the next neighbor to Van Couwenhoven and to Nicholas de Meyer, obtained in 1646 the grant of a parcel of land with a frontage of nearly two hundred and twenty-five feet along the road, and extending back to the Slyck Steegh. Evertsen came from the old town of Naerden, upon the south coast of the Zuyder Zee, some thirteen or fourteen miles east of Amsterdam, — an interesting place, with many a tradition of Spanish atrocities perpetrated here in the war for independence; a picturesque spot, too, where the flat western

coast of the Zuyder Zee, and the interminable dyked meadows in the direction of Amsterdam, give place to the heights of Gooiland; and where, to the observer gazing southeastward, —

“A brighter, livelier scene succeeds;
In groups the scattering wood recedes,
Hedge-rows, and huts, and sunny meads,
And corn-fields glance between,” —

till he might well imagine himself among the fields of Kent or of Essex, rather than in a corner of the province of Holland.

Having come to New Amsterdam, Evertsen married, in 1643, Geertje Bouwhens, a young woman from his old home, and had probably built upon his plot on Hoogh Straet, as early as 1645, a year or so before he obtained his ground-brief. He was a seafaring man, and in 1648 is spoken of as “late master of the yacht Saint Martin;” but his main occupation, which he followed for many years at New Amsterdam, was that of a fisherman, and from his house, which, adjoining a capacious garden, stood about upon the site of the present building, No. 55 Stone Street, a path or lane, which remained open for many years, led down directly to the mooring-place of his boats upon the East River shore. A couple of hundred feet to the west of this last-mentioned spot was the tall building of the city tavern, for the bright lights of which Wessell Evertsen had doubtless often strained his eyes, sailing up the bay, belated on his fishing trips, — much as he might have watched, at home in the fatherland, for the lights of the historic Castle of Muyden on the Zuyder Zee, as he ran up, on dark nights, from Amsterdam to Naerden, through the broad channel of the Pampus.

Here, then, upon Hoogh Straet, Wessell Evertsen lived for many years, and saw a large family grow up around him. The extreme eastern end of his plot of ground he had sold as early as 1649 to one Rut Jacobsen, but he retained the balance of it till about 1657, when the increasing demand for

building lots in the town induced him to sell one small parcel after another, till in the course of five or six years he had disposed of all the ground except that in the immediate vicinity of his dwelling-house. Evertsen appears to have died shortly before 1670, but the place remained in the possession of his descendants as late as the year 1726.

The parcel of land just before alluded to as forming the eastern end of Wessell Evertsen's grant, and as having been sold by him in 1649 to Rutger (commonly known as Rut) Jacobsen, must have been built upon by the latter at about the period named, and it was doubtless at the same time that the narrow lane bounding it upon the west, and which formed the southerly turn to the Slyck Steegh, was laid out. This passageway, under the name of Mill Lane, is still to be seen opening into Stone Street, as was previously noticed;¹ and the site of Jacobsen's plot is at present occupied by a low but spacious brick building of two stories, conspicuous for its large windows, and occupied by the Board of Marine Underwriters. The entrance to this structure is upon South William Street, where was originally the rear of Jacobsen's premises. As for the passageway now called Mill Lane, and sometimes Mill Street, it was known for a time, about the end of the seventeenth century, as Ellet's or Elliott's Alley, from Richard Elliott, previously mentioned (*ante*, page 160, note), who lived just at its head upon the Slyck Steegh. Rutger Jacobsen, at the time of his purchase of this property upon Hoogh Straet, was a resident of Rensselaerswyck² (now Albany), and although he undoubtedly resided at times in New Amsterdam, he does not appear to have given up his citizenship at the former place, for in 1656 he was one of the magistrates of Rensselaerswyck, and as such, in that year, he laid the corner-stone of the new Dutch Church, the site of which was at the intersection of the present State Street and Broad-

¹ See *ante*, page 153.

² Jacobsen came from Schoonrewoerd in the Netherlands, a village some twelve English miles south of Utrecht. His daughter Margrietje married, in 1667, Jan Jansen Bleecker, from Meppel in the province of Overijssel, ancestor of the Bleecker family, well known in the annals of New York.

way, in the city of Albany. The house at New Amsterdam was retained by Jacobsen till the fall of 1660, when it was sold at public auction to one Johannes Withart. It would seem to have been used by Rut Jacobsen either as a place of temporary residence for himself and family when in New Amsterdam, or as a storehouse connected with the North River trade, he having been, as early as 1649, the owner of a sloop plying upon the Hudson between Rensselaerswyck and New Amsterdam. After Withart these premises came to be noted as the residence of Nicholas Bayard, long conspicuous in the affairs of the city, mayor in 1685, the deadly personal enemy of Jacob Leisler, and the man above all others responsible for the judicial murder of Leisler and his son-in-law Milborne in 1691; bold and turbulent, he pitted himself against the Earl of Bellomont, Governor of the Colony, was himself condemned to death for treason, and very narrowly escaped Leisler's fate. His large farm and country seat west of the Bowery became one of the prominent features of New York in the eighteenth century. He purchased the house upon Stone Street from Johannes Withart in 1685, the year of his mayoralty, but had resided in it for a number of years before that period.

CHAPTER XV

THE "GREAT TAVERN," AFTERWARDS THE TOWN HALL. — ITS HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS. — DOMINIE BOGARDUS'S PARTY. — THE COURTS. — THE SHIRT CASE. — GOVERNOR LOVELACE'S TAVERN

The Taverner tooke me by the sleve,
"S" sayth he, "will you o' wyne assay?"
I answerd, "that can not mutch me greve
A peny can do no more than it may;"
I dranke a pynt, and for it dyd pay,
Yet sore a hungred frō thence I yede, —
And wantynge my mony I cōld not spede.

LYDGATE: "London Lyckpeny."

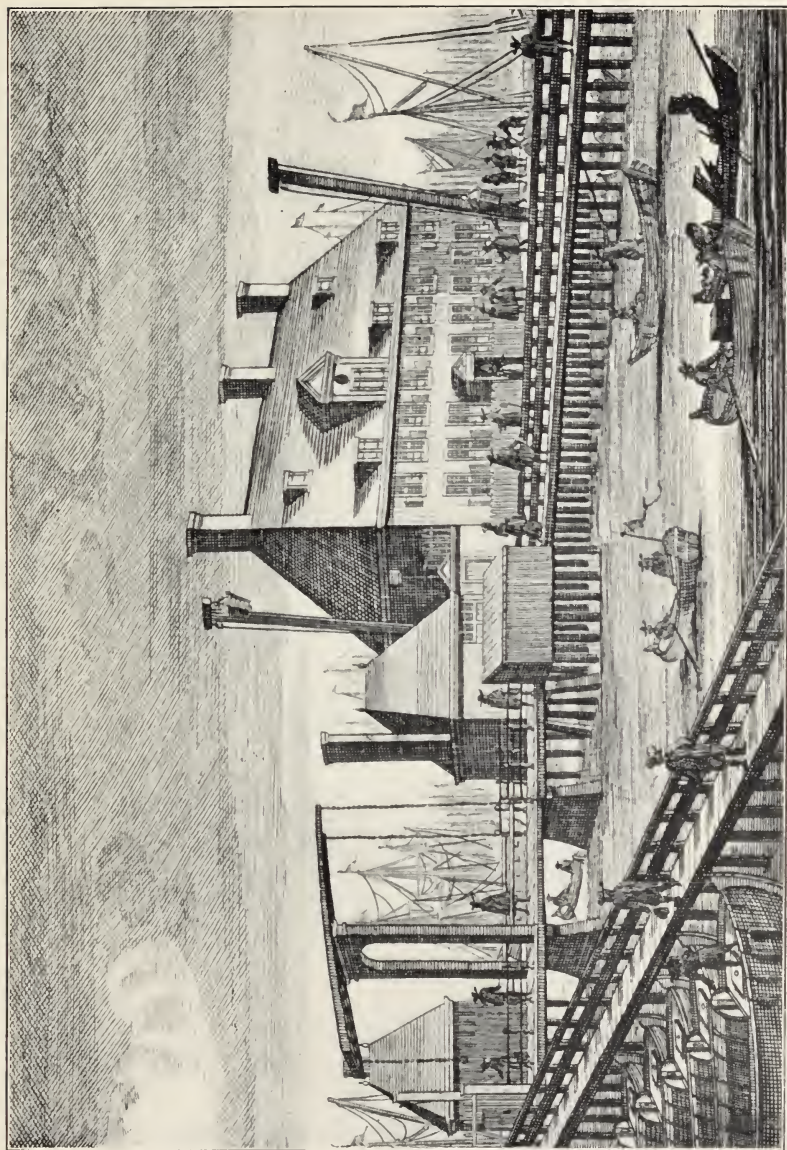
THE traveller, in the middle of the seventeenth century, approaching Amsterdam up the broad estuary of the Y, from the Zuyder Zee, and rounding a point of flat meadowland intersected by canals, where some years later the vast dock-yards, timber wharves, and storehouses of the Admiralty and of the East India Company arose, saw at his left hand, stretching for two miles along the shore, the array of houses of that famed city, broken here and there by canals, the mouths of which were occasionally marked by ancient stone towers of quaint form, the survivors of the bulwarks of former days. At a distance of a few hundred feet from the shore extended an apparently interminable double line of "booms," — stout piles driven into the earth and fastened together at the tops by string pieces, and to these were moored an almost countless host of vessels of all descriptions, —

"Meer vloeten als besit de weerelt, op het Y;"

the smaller craft only were permitted to pass within the line of booms. Sailing by the mouth of the broad Amstel River,

crowded with boats and barges, as it flowed placidly through the heart of the city, and passing the Haaring pakkers Tooren, — the Herring-packers' Tower, — where it stood guard over the entrance to the canal, called the "Cingel," the voyager saw before him a long pier running out from the shore to a point beyond the line of booms; at its extremity was a large, high-peaked wooden building, constructed upon piles, moored around which was a swarm of yachts and rowboats of various descriptions. This building was the Stadts Herbergh, or City Tavern of Amsterdam; it had been built in the early part of the seventeenth century, to furnish lodging and entertainment to seafaring men, and to travellers who might arrive in the city by night-coming vessels, or after the closing of the land gates. The commodious quarters afforded by this tavern, and its agreeable outlook over the land and water, caused it to be held in high repute.

About the year 1640, when the trade of New Amsterdam was already considerably extended, it was thought desirable, by the officers of the West India Company, to afford better accommodations for strangers in the town than were furnished by the small and rude taverns which already existed there. It was decided to establish, somewhat after the pattern of Amsterdam, a Stadts Herbergh, or City Tavern, under the auspices of the West India Company. This building was a substantial edifice of stone, and was completed during the year 1641. It was designedly placed in a very conspicuous position near the shore of the East River, which one of its sides faced, and at the time of its erection it formed a most prominent landmark, standing entirely apart from the houses of the town. Back of it lay the road, or Hoogh Straet, from which a lane or passageway on the east side of the building gave access to the open space between it and the shore. This lane, after the City Tavern had become, in 1654, the Stadt Huys, or Town Hall, was frequently spoken of, in English times, as the "State House Lane," or "Hall Lane;" it exists at the present day as the narrow passageway, known as Coenties Alley, a curious little dark street between high and almost



THE OLD STADTS HERBERGH, OR CITY TAVERN, AMSTERDAM.

From Wagenaar's "Amsterdam."

blank walls; it is overhung by rusty fire-escapes, and furnished with miniature sidewalks, of about two feet wide.

The original ground-plot attached to the City Tavern, appears to have been a strip about fifty feet in width, extending from Hoogh Straet to the East River shore, but in the year 1651, upon the confiscation of the adjoining land of Cornelis Melyn,¹ enough of that land appears to have been added to the tavern plot to make the whole parcel about one hundred and five feet in front upon the shore, and a few feet less than that distance upon Hoogh Straet. The premises, so enlarged, seem to have been then surrounded by a fence; previously, they had been open and unenclosed. The additional ground was doubtless used for a time for garden purposes.²

Collating carefully the various deeds for portions of these premises, made from time to time in the eighteenth century, after the Town House had ceased to be used for public purposes,—some of which deeds refer expressly to lines of the old building, while other dimensions of the latter result from well-known principles of architecture,—the conclusion is reached that the ground-plan of the City Tavern must have been about forty-two feet front³ by about thirty-two feet in depth; in height it contained two stories, with a basement underneath and spacious lofts above.⁴ In the rear of the building was an extension or addition, of which only the eastern wall is definitely fixed; this appears to have been a long, narrow structure used for kitchen purposes, and probably containing other offices of a similar nature. The present northerly line of Pearl Street would seem to have encroached somewhat upon the site of the City Tavern, as will be seen from the accompanying plan.

¹ See *ante*, page 120.

² Minutes of the Burgomasters, 15 November, 1658. On Johannes Nevius, the secretary's petition, wherein he requests that he may plant the garden behind the Town Hall,—Ordered, that the petitioner may plant the garden, in conjunction with the court messenger.

³ That is to say, its later front upon what is now Pearl Street; its original front was towards the west.

⁴ Under its steeply pitched roof.

The Stadts Herbergh appears to have been opened for the entertainment of the public about the beginning of the year 1642, Philip Gerritsen from Haerlem being the first landlord,¹ and the premises being leased to him and afterwards to Adriaen Gerritsen (who had married Philip's widow), down to the beginning of the year 1652, when we find Abraham Delanoy conducting the tavern. The terms of the lease were sufficiently liberal. Philip was to pay the company three hundred guilders per year, or about \$120 of the present currency; he was to sell the company's wines and brandy only, for which he was to be allowed a profit of six stivers (about twelve cents) per quart, the company agreeing not to allow any wines to be sold at retail out of its cellar, "which might be drunk in clubs, and would tend to the lessee's injury." The Director-General, at the same time, promised to have a well dug near the house, and to cause a brew-house to be put up in the rear of the tavern or else to give the use of the company's brew-house, and moreover to permit a space to be fenced off in the rear of the house.

The City Tavern was hardly more than opened before it became historic. Many of the fugitives from the outlying settlements, in the Indian War of 1643, were quartered here. On the 18th of September of that year, there arrived in the town the distressed colonists of Achter Col (near the present Elizabethport), which had been destroyed on the preceding night by the Indians. These people, who had collected in a building there, managed with great difficulty to make their escape in a canoe after the house in which they were gathered had been set on fire; they kept off the Indians by means of their firearms, but lost everything else. They were lodged in a body at the City Tavern at the expense of the West India Company.

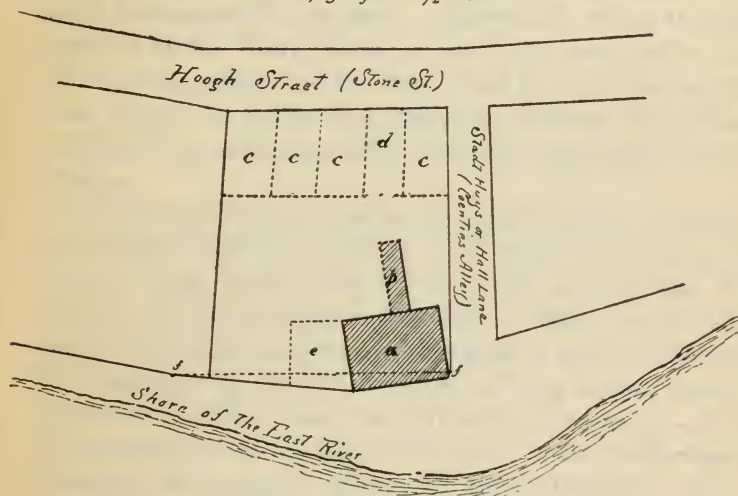
Here, too, in the beginning of 1651, was quartered the crew of the ship "*Nieuw Nederlandsche Fortuyn*," — the vessel of the Baron van der Capellen, — seized and confiscated by order

¹ Philip Gerritsen's lease bears date February 17, 1643, but runs from the 1st of January, 1642, for six years.

Plan of the Stadt Huys or Town Hall of New Amsterdam

Compiled by J. H. INNES

Scale, 50 feet = $\frac{1}{2}$ inch



References:

- a. Main building of the Stadt Huys.
- b. Extension, supposed to have been a kitchen, etc.
- c c. Small lots granted by the Burgomasters, 1664—66.
- d. Lane or Alley to the Stadt Huys enclosure.
- e. Site of tavern built by Gov. Lovelace, 1670.
- f f. Present line of Pearl Street.

Plan of the Great Hall at Dover
Hall of the Legislature

1875

By J. H. Smith



1875

By J. H. Smith

of the Great Hall at Dover

and the Hall of the Legislature

at the University of the State of New York

at the City of New York

in the year 1875

of Director-General Stuyvesant; nominally, on account of an alleged infraction of the revenue laws, but really to gratify his hatred against Cornelis Melyn, whom he believed to be a partner in the vessel, — for which proceeding the West India Company had to make satisfaction afterwards in the Netherlands.¹

The tavern, indeed, from an early day was in frequent use as a place of detention for suspected persons and for various political or other prisoners. For this purpose, some portion of the building — probably a part of its basement — must have been specially prepared. Afterwards, when the edifice came to be the Town House, a part of it was used as one of the regular prisons of the town, and the provost, or jailer, was obliged to divide his attentions between the prisoners confined here and those within the fort, who were also in his charge.

In this way various persons who had become obnoxious to the Director and his Council were kept in detention from time to time at the City Tavern, and later at the Town House. Here was kept in durance, in 1647, the Scotchman Andrew Forrester, of Dundee, the agent of the Earl of Stirling, for asserting his principal's rights to Long Island, under his purchase, in 1629, from the Plymouth Company, — till he was packed off in the fall of that year to the Netherlands to vindicate his conduct before the States-General. Here, in 1655, the Englishman, George Baxter, was confined: he had been for many years in the employ of the Company in a military capacity, but had fallen out with the Director-General and Council, and had attempted to raise a sedition against the Dutch authorities at Gravesend. To the Town Hall, in the spring of 1656, were marched the luckless English intruders, twenty-three in number, who had attempted, under a claim hostile to the Dutch, to make a settlement at the present Westchester. Sailing up the East River in his ship, the "Weigh-Scales," Stuyvesant's lieutenant, "the valiant Captain Frederick de Koninek," and his forces proceeded in

¹ See *ante*, page 119.

boats up the Westchester Creek, and captured the entire new colony, which, with the exception of a few who were left to guard their wives, children, and property, he conveyed to New Amsterdam, where they were lodged in what they call "a dungeon at the Court House" till they were ready to comply with the demands of the Dutch authorities.

Such matters as these, however, did not interfere with the attractions of the City Tavern as a social resort, and it soon came to be patronized by many of the better class of citizens, and by the officials of the West India Company, who frequently made up parties for a supper and a social evening there. These were not always free from unpleasant occurrences, as we learn. On the night of the 15th of March, 1644, there were gathered in Philip Gerritsen's parlor in the City Tavern, Doctor Hans Kiersted, Dominie Bogardus, Nicholaus Coorn, Jan Jacobsen, Gysbert Opdyck,¹ and other persons, with their wives, spending — so we are told — a very agreeable evening together. How this gathering was put to flight by the swashbuckler, Captain John Underhill, is told by several of the parties present: "About an hour after supper there came in John Onderhil, with his lieutenant Baxter, and drummer, to whom the above-named Philip Gerritsen said, 'Friends, I have invited these persons here, with their wives; I therefore request that you will betake yourselves to another room, where you can be furnished with wine for money.' They finally did so, after many words. Having been gone a short time, said Onderhil and his company, who had then been joined by Thomas Willet, invited some of our company to take a drink with them, which was done. George Baxter, by Onderhil's orders, came and requested that Opdyke would come and join them, — which he refused. Thereupon he, Onderhil and his companions broke into pieces, with drawn swords, the cans which hung on the shelf in the tavern; endeavoring by force, having drawn swords in their hands, to come into the room where the invited guests were. This was for a long

¹ Commissary at the South or Delaware River settlements, and original grantee of Coney Island.

time resisted by the landlady, with a leaden bolt, and by the landlord, by keeping the door shut; but finally John Onderhil and his associates, in spite of all opposition, came into the room, where he uttered many words. Captain Onderhil, holding his sword in his hand and the scabbard in his left hand, — the blade about a foot out of the scabbard, — said to the minister, as reported, whilst he grasped his sword: ‘Clear out of here, for I shall strike at random!’ In like manner, some English soldiers came immediately (as we presume, to his assistance), the above named Onderhil being then guilty, with his companions, of gross insolence.” The uproar now assumed larger proportions, and the fiscal, or public prosecutor, and a guard from the fort were sent for, without their presence producing much effect on the drunken Englishmen. The latter still refused to withdraw from the scene of festivity; and it was presumably in reply to an admonition of Dominie Bogardus, coupled with a suggestion of sending for the Director-General himself, that Underhill said to the Minister, as deposed to by the witnesses: “If the Director come here, ’t is well. I had rather speak to a wise man than a fool.” This irreverent reply seems to have taken all the spirit from the guests. “And in order to prevent further and more serious mischief, — yea, even bloodshed,” say the witnesses, lugubriously, “we broke up our pleasant party before we had intended.”

Indeed, the affrays at the City Tavern were not always devoid of bloodshed. In 1647, one Simon Root picked a quarrel and fought here with Pieter Ebel, the jailer, in which the former had the misfortune to have “a piece of his ear” cut off by a cutlass in the jailer’s hand. Root made a formal application to the Director and Council for a certificate of this fact, which was granted to him, — presumably for the purpose of showing that the injured member had not been “cropped” to satisfy the demands of justice.

The “Great Tavern,” some time before it became the Town Hall of New Amsterdam, had come to be the seat of a good deal of business of a public nature. As early as 1647, it

was one of the three places in which all public notices were posted, the others being the fort, and the barn of the West India Company. Here, too, for a number of years, the Director and Council seem to have frequently sat as a court for the trial of the minor cases coming before them. These men were often not exactly legal Solons, and the cases which came before them were not infrequently of the most trivial description, for they had to deal with the childish squabbles of sailors, soldiers, and rude and ignorant men and women from half the countries of Europe, for the latter class was not rare among the colonists. The fact that such quarrels had to be adjudicated before the highest legal tribunal of the colony, frequently lends a humorous character to the proceedings, of which the members of the court often seem to be aware and which shows itself in their decisions far more than does that ponderous gravity upon which various writers have been so fond of expatiating. The great Shirt Case, which occupied the attention of the Director and his Council, in August, 1646, may serve as an illustration of what has just been said. In that case, one Claes Pietersen, a sailor, proceeded by attachment process to recover two shirts, in the possession of another sailor, Jan Jansen from Hoorn. Upon the hearing, the defendant Jansen protested, rather guardedly, that the shirts *resembled* some he had bought in Holland. The court decided that as they had never discovered any fault in the plaintiff Pietersen, the possession of the shirts should be given to him, and that if the defendant could not prove that the shirts belonged to him, he should remain silent. The defendant Jansen, not being satisfied with this disposition of the case, then commenced a suit against Pietersen, somewhat in the nature of an equitable bill of discovery, to compel him to disclose where he got the shirts. Pietersen's answer to this was that he purchased the shirts at Amsterdam, but was unable to say in what street. The equities of this important matter having been duly weighed by the Council, that body decided that "they find not a particle of guilt in the defendant; wherefore the plaintiff is commanded to keep silent, *on condition*

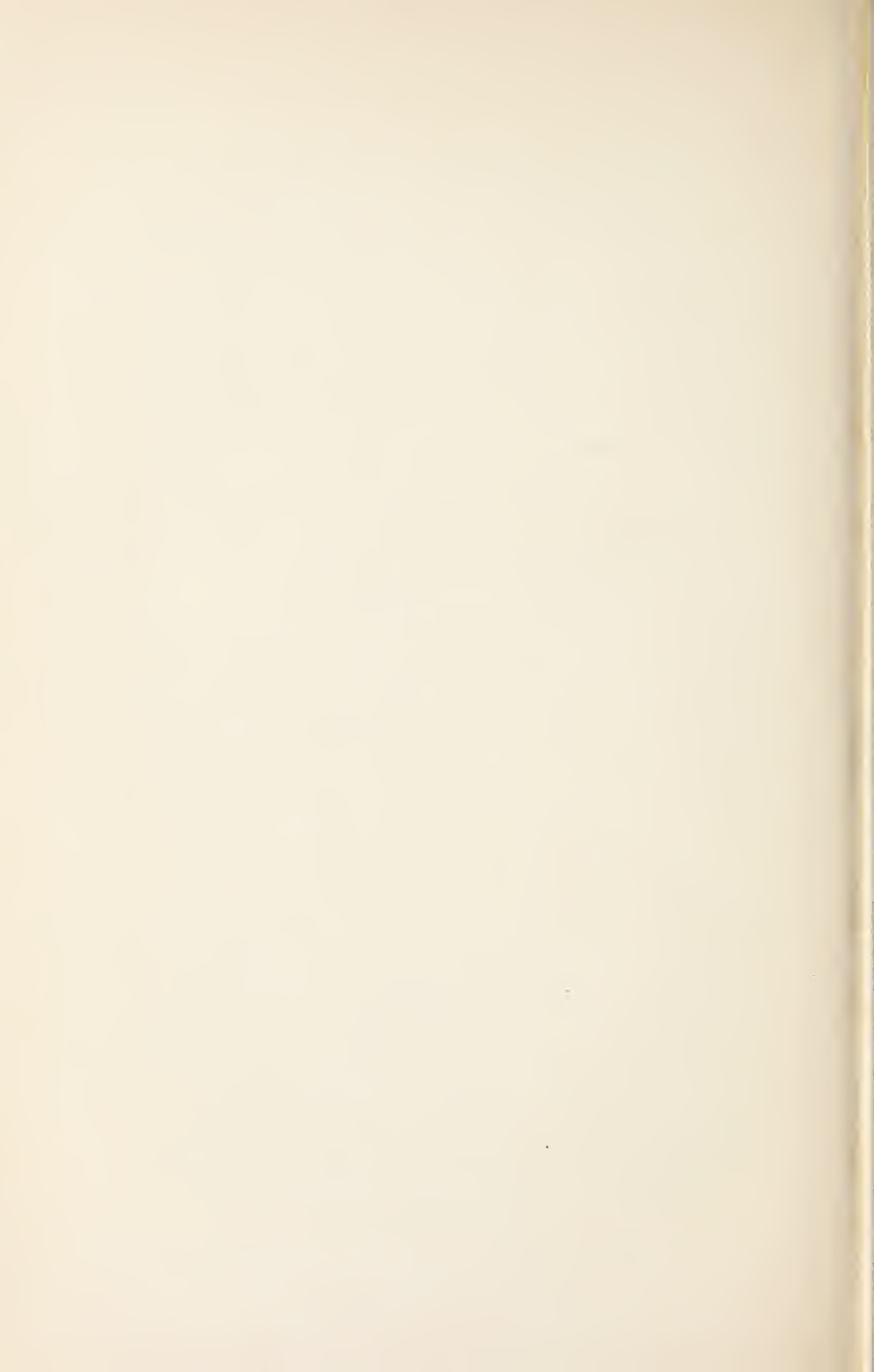
THE STADT HERBERGH AND VICINITY, 1652.
Enlarged from the Justus Danckers and Visscher Views of New Amsterdam.



A. House of Cornelis van Tienhoven (aft.
of Jacob Steendam).
B. House of Adriaen Vincent.

C. The old Bark Mill.
D. House of Carel Van Brugge.
E. House of Wessel Evertsen.

F. House of Rutger Jacobson.
G. " " Richard Smith.
H. " " Burger Jorissen.



that the defendant, when he goes to Holland, and shall have arrived at Amsterdam, remains bound to point out the shop where he bought the shirts."

Matters of a more important nature sometimes occupied the attention of the Director and Council. Here, in the fall and winter of 1653, was held a meeting of delegates from the Dutch and English villages around New Amsterdam,¹ for the purpose of devising some plan of common defence against threatened Indian attacks, the West India Company failing to provide adequate protection. The English delegates had additional grievances which they proceeded to air at this meeting, under the form of a "remonstrance," both to the Director and Council and to the States-General of the Netherlands:—they were not as well treated as they expected to be when they came to settle under the rule of the New Netherland authorities; moreover, discriminations were made against them and in favor of the Dutch. These men, some of whom—as the Middelburg or Newtown delegates—had not yet been in the country much over a year, calmly proceeded to inform the Director-General that "instead of liberty, an arbitrary government is rearing its head among them, and laws affecting the lives and property of the commonalty are enacted without the knowledge or approbation of the latter." The unquestionable truth of these assertions only made them the less palatable to Stuyvesant, and had his path been clear, he would undoubtedly have terminated the proceedings of the Convention at the City Tavern in short order. Just about this time, however, the Dutch and English fleets, under Van Tromp and Blake, had been pounding each other to pieces in the English Channel, in the course of the war growing out of the Navigation Act,—with considerable disadvantage to the Dutch. It was impossible to tell what the English in the New England colonies might take it into their heads to do; the Director-General therefore restrained himself so far as to send a written communication

¹ Two sessions were held, one beginning on the 25th of November, and the other on the 10th of December, 1653.

to the convention, in which, after reminding the delegates that they were an illegal body, with whose doings he was not at all obliged to concern himself, he proceeded to examine and to deny their statements, merely referring to the English as the "instigators and leaders of these novelties."

The same cause which had induced the Director-General to demean himself with unwonted moderation towards the delegates led the latter to assume a lofty tone. The English delegates from Heemstede, Rusdorp, Vlissingen, and Middelburg¹ (whose constituents, all told, probably did not amount to a thousand men, women, and children), already saw, in their mind's eye, the fleets and armies of Cromwell advancing on New Amsterdam; they immediately again demanded the redress of their grievances, and notified Stuyvesant that in case of refusal they would appeal to his superiors at Amsterdam. This was too much: the persecutor of Melyn and of Kuyter never could bear to hear talk of an appeal from his decisions; he flew into a rage, and dispersed the convention so quickly that the delegates hardly had time to pay their tavern bills. True to their word, the delegates sent their "remonstrance" to the Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company, but it was rejected by that body with scant courtesy.

A municipal government, modelled to a certain extent upon that of the towns of the Netherlands, having been granted to New Amsterdam by the West India Company, in answer to long-continued requests from the citizens, the new form of administration, under a schout, or sheriff, two burgomasters, or superior magistrates, and five schepens, or councillors, took effect at the beginning of the year 1653; and the City Tavern was appointed as the place in which the new municipal body should hold its sessions, both administrative and judicial, for in addition to the ordinary business of town or city government, the burgomasters and schepens also formed a court of limited jurisdiction in both civil and criminal matters. It soon became evident, how-

¹ The later Hempstead, Jamaica, Flushing, and Newtown.

ever, that it was highly desirable, for various reasons, that the municipality should have entire control of the building in which its business was carried on. The West India Company, in the embarrassed state of its affairs, had never cleared away its debts for the construction of the City Tavern; and upon the 24th of December, 1653, the burgomasters and schepens sent a petition to the Company at Amsterdam, asking for a grant to them of the building, offering on their part to pay the debts which remained due upon the same. This petition was favorably entertained by the Amsterdam Chamber of the Company, which, on the 18th of May, 1654, granted the City Tavern "to the use of the Regents for the time being, and for their business, but no one shall claim from this any right to it individually, or to alienate or mortgage it collectively."¹

The City Tavern, accordingly, became known henceforth as the Stadt Huys, or Town Hall, and several important changes soon took place around it. The building appears to have stood originally upon the lower part of the slope of a knoll of moderate elevation rising to the east of it, in such a manner that while the eastern portion of its basement was below, the western portion was above the surface of the ground, and in this latter, facing the fort and the town, was the entrance, or one of the entrances to the tavern. Soon after the municipality acquired this building, fears began to be entertained that the bank or open space between it and the river might be seriously encroached upon by the waves. It was decided therefore to fill out and to grade between the Town House and the water's edge, and to protect this improvement from the tides by constructing a sheet-piling of planks in front of it. In pursuance of this design, Charles Bridges (or, as the Dutch called him, Van Brugge), who held, in right of his wife, Sarah, the ground occupied by the knoll above mentioned, lying east of the Town Hall, was

¹ The fee simple of this property, which was afterwards granted by the city, came to it, of course, through the confiscation of the property of the West India Company by the English after the surrender, in 1664.

notified, in April, 1656, by the court messenger, "for the good of this town, to let him take, without any hindrance, from the hill before his lot, as much earth as shall be required for filling in before the Town Hall."

The ground now covered by Pearl Street and a part of Coenties Slip having been thus filled out and levelled, the main entrance to the hall was made on the side towards the river, and a small cupola for a bell having been placed upon it, the building assumed the form in which it has been presented to us by the sketch of the Labadist missionaries, Danker and Sluyter, upon their visit to New York in 1679-80, — probably the only reliable representation in existence of this building as it was in its later days.¹

Whether the Town Hall continued to be used for tavern purposes, after its acquisition by the burgomasters, is not clear. On the one hand, the business of the municipality could have required but a small portion of the building, and it was certainly used for festive purposes; upon the contemplated absence from New Amsterdam of Director-General Stuyvesant, in the winter of 1654-55, the burgomasters make the following entry in their minutes, under date of Saturday afternoon, December 12, 1654: "that, as the Right Honorable intends to depart, the burgomasters and schepens shall compliment him before he take his gallant voyage, and for this purpose shall provide a gay repast on next Wednesday noon at the Town Hall, in the Council Chamber. Wherefore a list of what was required was made out, and what was considered necessary was ordered."

¹ The view of the Stadt Huys, given by Mr. D. T. Valentine, in his *History of New York*, and also in the *Manuals of the Common Council* (which view has generally been inserted in the works of later writers), besides being architecturally impossible, with its leaning or "drunken" stepped gables, is also inaccurate in several other respects. As for the appearance of this building in one of Mr. V.'s imaginary sketches, purporting to be a view of the vicinity in 1658 (*Man. Com. Counc.*, for 1862, p. 529), the slight mistakes are made of placing the hill along the shore to the west, instead of to the east, of the Town Hall, and in crowning that edifice with a cupola, some ten or fifteen years before it was placed there.

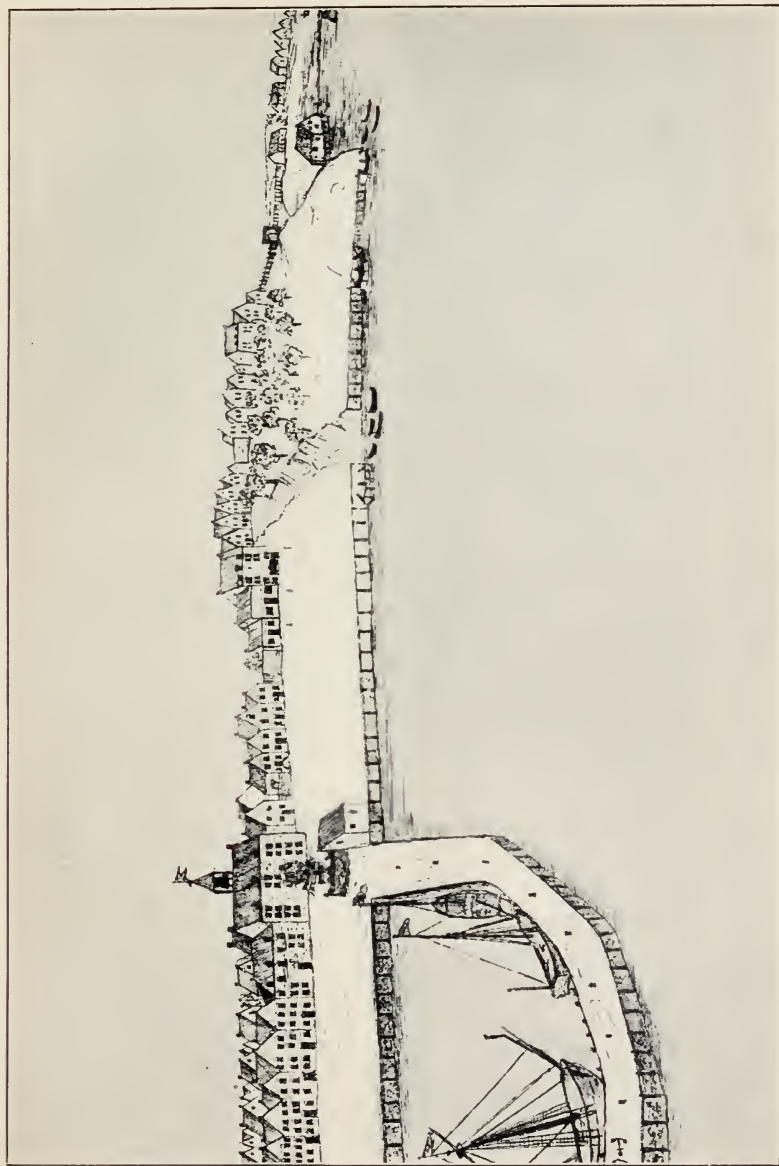
On the other hand, however, the space in and about the Town House was frequently made use of in such a way as to seem incompatible with the employment of any part of the building for tavern purposes. In 1655, the structure is stated to be encumbered with a large quantity of salt, placed there on storage, and certain lodgers had also got possession of different parts of it, or of its outbuildings, — one of these, in particular, was a person who, having had the misfortune to lose his own house by fire, had taken up his quarters here, “in the little sail loft.” At this time the burgomasters ordered the premises to be cleared. In the same manner, in 1660, it was found that the yard or enclosure of the Town House was being used for the storage of lumber, brick, etc., and it was ordered that a gate should be made in the rear, and that the jailer should see that the trespasses were discontinued.

Whether any portion of this building was used for school purposes, as has been claimed, is doubtful. On the 4th of April, 1652, the Chamber of Directors of the West India Company at Amsterdam gave the appointment of schoolmaster at New Amsterdam to Jan la Montagne, and he was permitted to use the City Tavern, “if practicable.” Some time must have elapsed, however, before such an arrangement could have gone into effect, and in the beginning of the succeeding year the City Tavern was appropriated to the use of the burgomasters, as already shown. The writer has not been able to find any evidence that the building was used for school purposes, under the régime of the burgomasters: on the contrary, in November, 1656, Harmanus van Hoboken, then schoolmaster, petitions those magistrates “to grant him the hall and side room for the use of the school, and as a dwelling, inasmuch as he, the petitioner, does not know how to manage for the proper accommodation of the children during winter, for they much require a place adapted for fire, and to be warmed, for which their present tenement is wholly unfit.” The schoolmaster then goes on to show that he has a wife and children, and is in straits to find accommodation for them, and he asks that if the burgomasters cannot grant him the

rooms requested, they will allow him the rent of the back room of a certain house, then occupied by one Geurt Coerten. To this petition, the burgomasters answer that "the hall and little room are not in repair, and are, moreover, wanted for other purposes. He (petitioner) is allowed to rent said house, for which one hundred guilders shall be paid him yearly."

Here, then, in the Stadt Huys of New Amsterdam, the worthy merchants and brewers, Indian traders and ship captains, who usually composed the body of burgomasters and schepens of the little municipality, met and passed their ordinances for the government of the town, or sat as a court of justice to consider the numerous and sometimes queer controversies which were brought before them. Naturally, they were not men who were overstocked with legal lore. Ponderous folios and quartos, in hog-skin, of the civil and imperial laws, of the ordinances of the States-General and of the States of Holland, and the well-thumbed "Roseboom's Recueil" of the Statutes and Customs of Amsterdam, lay before the magistrates, inviting them to lose themselves in the mazes of those abstruse treatises; they preferred, however, as a rule, to render their decisions by the aid of what is sometimes known as "horse sense." They were fond of settling cases informally by inducing parties to accept their advice before going to trial: failing this, they were apt to send the cases for arbitration to one or two "good men," whom they would select out of the community, with instructions to reconcile the contending parties, if possible; in one case, in the year 1662, where a question of the sewing of linen caps was involved, the court went so far as to appoint certain "good women" as arbitrators.

As to the portion of the Stadt Huys building used for the sessions of the court, Mr. D. T. Valentine has found some evidence, apparently, that it was the eastern side of the second story, — for he asserts this to have been the fact. In 1670, however, Governor Francis Lovelace, who had acquired a plot of ground immediately adjoining the Stadt Huys, upon the



THE STADT HUYS AND BURGERS PATH, 1679.

From the Dankers and Slayters View.

west, commenced the erection of "an inn, or ordinary" upon the plot, and sent a communication to the magistrates in the early part of that year to know whether they would allow him "to build the upper part of the house something over the passage of the town which lieth between the State House and the lott, and to make a doore to go from the upper part of the house into the Court's Chambers." This proposition—which was agreed to by the magistrates, leaving it to the governor's discretion to pay what was thought fit for "the vacant strooke of ground" lying between the buildings, and moreover "not to cut off the entrance into the prison doore, or common gaol"—would seem to indicate that the court-room was upon the western side of the second floor, in 1670, at any rate. The term "chambers" used in the communication is hardly likely to have referred to private rooms of the magistrates, as tavern connection, though possibly very convenient in some cases, might have led to public scandal against those high officials. The tavern of Governor Lovelace, above referred to, is shown upon the Danker and Sluyter view of 1679.

The Stadt Huys grounds were infringed upon, not only by the grant to Governor Lovelace, but by several other grants, made from time to time. During the years 1664 to 1666, the entire front along Duke Street, as it was then called, or the present Stone Street, was granted in very small lots to various individuals, and only an alley or passageway to the rear of the hall was retained: this passageway opened upon Stone Street just about where the doorway of the present building No. 40 Stone Street now is. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, the hall building began to show signs of dilapidation, to such an extent that, although it had only been standing a little more than fifty years, it gradually came to be considered unsafe. In 1696, the subject of erecting a new City Hall was under discussion; in 1698, the ground for the new building was selected, at the northeast corner of Wall and the present Nassau streets, and finally, in August, 1699, the historic building and its site were sold at public auction.

Within the walls of this edifice, or, in fine weather, upon

the open space between it and the river, the citizens of New Amsterdam were wont to gather and to discuss matters of public and of private interest, as well as the news of the day, through more than half a century of a period to which are usually ascribed some of the most interesting occurrences of modern times. Here, as tidings from across the ocean tardily came to be known, men talked of the destruction of the monarchy in England and of the new commonwealth there; of the latter days of the Thirty Years' War; of Louis XIV. and of the French power, threatening all Europe; of the great naval wars between England and the Netherlands for the supremacy of the seas; of the Turkish hordes before Vienna, and of their flight before John Sobieski; of the wonderful revolutions which placed William of Orange upon the throne of England and at the front of European politics. The names of Cromwell and of Richelieu, of Mazarin and of Colbert; of the murdered King Charles, and of the fugitive King James; of great admirals and generals, Van Tromp and De Ruyter, Turenne and Luxembourg, — were once familiar sounds in this locality.¹ Now, all is changed: crowded warehouses cover the land far out into what was the river of those days; and in front of the spot where were the windows of the court-room in which Leisler and Milborne were condemned to suffer death for treason, the trains of the elevated railway sweep round into Coenties Slip.

The site of the beginnings of its municipal government would have been carefully preserved, or at any rate honored with a substantial monument, by almost any small town of New England, but in the City of New York it has not been thought necessary to mark the site of the Stadt Huys by anything more than a small bronze plate placed high up on

¹ Council Minutes, 6 July, 1672. "Tuesday next, about 10 or 11 of ye clock before noon is appointed to make proclamation of the Warre," at the State House. This was the war by England and France against the United Provinces, in which war New York was captured by the Dutch in the following year, and in which William III. the young Prince of Orange, newly appointed Commander-in-chief of the forces of the Netherlands, displayed his abilities under very trying circumstances.

the front of the modern building standing at this point; the inscription upon this plate may doubtless be read from the street by any person provided with a good opera-glass. The corporation which has so much of the tax-payers' money to spend for all sorts of necessary and of unnecessary objects has perhaps spent a good deal of it to worse advantage than if it had acquired the site of its first home, and thereon built, for some of its municipal purposes, a building designed to reproduce as far as possible the historic structure.

The site of the Stadt Huys is at present occupied by a common warehouse, tall and dismal, and by a liquor saloon which may represent a continuous flow of the tap at this spot, from the days of the Great Tavern and of Governor Lovelace's "ordinary."

CHAPTER XVI

THE "ENGLISH QUARTER," AND THE GRANTS TO THOMAS WILLET AND TO RICHARD SMITH.—WILLIAM PATERSON, THE SCOTCHMAN, AND HIS ADVENTURES.—WHO WAS HE?—AN HISTORICAL PROBLEM

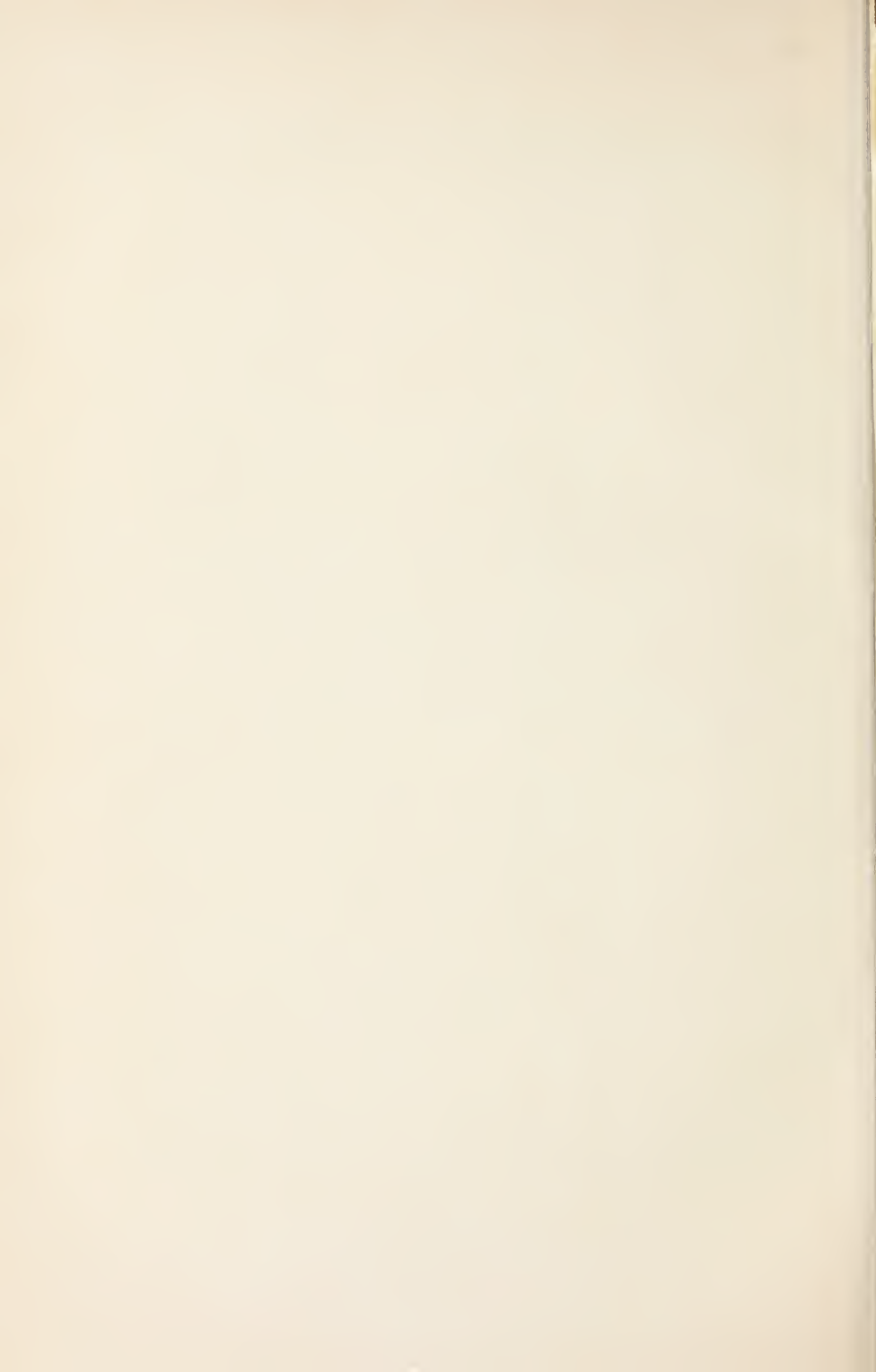
THE present block of ground lying between Stone and Pearl streets, Coenties Alley and Hanover Square, which constituted, in the seventeenth century, the small tract situated east of the Stadt Huys and between Hoogh Straet and the river shore, became, at an early day, a sort of English quarter in the town. Here, in 1645, Thomas Willet received a grant of the land lying "next to the Great Tavern," a parcel of irregular shape, averaging about one hundred and seventy-five feet in width, and extending from the road, or Hoogh Straet, to the river,—a distance of something over one hundred feet. This parcel seems to have formed a hill, or bluff of moderate height, which was levelled—in part, at any rate—about the year 1656, for the purpose of filling out and grading the open space along the shore which formed what is now Pearl Street in this vicinity, of which proceeding some notice has already been taken.¹ Who this Thomas Willet, the original grantee, was, has not been very clearly ascertained. He has been constantly confounded by various writers with Captain Thomas Willet of Plymouth Colony, who afterwards engaged in trade between New Amsterdam and the New England towns, and who, after the surrender to the English in 1664, was appointed the first mayor of the City of New York. That he was of kin to Captain Thomas Willet is not at all improbable; but examination fails to disclose the nature of the connection,

¹ See *ante*, page 185.



COENTJES ALLEY.

Looking towards Stone Street. The ancient Stadt Huys Lane,
with part of the site of the Stadt Huys.



if any existed. About all that seems to be known of the antecedents of Thomas Willet of New Amsterdam is that in his marriage record in the Dutch Church he is described as being from Bristol, in England.

Thomas Willet, the grantee of the Hoogh Straet land, appears in 1643 — then being a young man of twenty-two years of age — as one of the English soldiers in the employ of the West India Company. As such, he was one of those who took part in the massacre of the Indians, by Director Kieft's orders, on the night of February 25, 1643, at Pavonia; and upon the next day he was one of the witnesses of the killing of the Dutchman, Dirck Straetmaker, and his wife, who in spite of warnings to the contrary had insisted on visiting the scene of the horrid butchery of the preceding night, where the bodies of the slain were still lying; he and his wife were there murdered by some of the enraged Indians who had already begun to gather in the vicinity, — the Dutch soldiers being too far away to afford relief.

It was in the fall of this same year, 1643, that Thomas Willet married an English girl, Sarah, the daughter of Thomas Cornell. The latter, with his family, had emigrated to America several years before, from the shire of Essex in England, and had acquired from the Indians a tract lying just east of the Bronx River; here he established a plantation, which with those of his neighbors, Jonas Bronck and Edward Jessup, formed the outposts of civilization in the vicinity of New Amsterdam along the East River; Thomas Cornell's tract soon took the name of Cornell's Neck, and his farmhouse was situated nearly two miles southeast of the present village of West Farms.

After his marriage to Sarah Cornell, Thomas Willet appears to have remained at New Amsterdam for several years, still apparently in the employ of the West India Company. His presence, with his captain, Underhill, at the time of the drunken onslaught of the latter on Dominie Bogardus's party at the City Tavern, in 1644, has already been spoken of.¹

¹ See *ante*, page 180.

Although his ground-brief for the land on Hoogh Straet was only obtained in 1645, there is evidence that he had built upon the plot before that time, his house occupying very nearly the site of the present building, No. 48 Stone Street, — now an old tea and coffee warehouse. In the summer or autumn of 1645, he appears to have been engaged in a joint mercantile speculation with the skipper Juriaen Blanck and Doctor Kiersted's brother Jochem, in relation to which the partners had a disagreement which brought them into court. After this we have no further notices of Thomas Willet; he must, however, have died within a year or so from the last-mentioned date, for in November, 1647, his widow Sarah married Charles Bridges, of Canterbury.

At the mention of Canterbury, thoughts of the old city of the monk St. Augustine and of Thomas à Becket will occur to many, — where the majestic cathedral, the mother-church of England, still looks down (or recently did, for some serious inroads have been made by modern innovations) on massive city walls and gates, upon quaint streets lined with overhanging houses, and upon the Stour, placidly flowing by the city and through hop fields and meadows, orchards and gardens, — much as it all was in Charles Bridges' time; for Canterbury is one of those eddies, lying outside the main current of time, where all things slowly revolve in a limited circle, while the greater flow sweeps by with its perpetual change.

Causes of which we are ignorant transferred Charles Bridges from the ancient capital of the Kent-men to the Dutch island of Curaçoa, in the West Indies, prior to 1639, in which year we find him making a voyage to New Amsterdam as supercargo of the ship "White Raven." Bridges early became a thoroughly Teutonized Englishman, and was not only called by the Dutch, but called himself, by the Dutch equivalent of his name, Carel van Brugge. He rose into prominence in the Dutch island, and in 1644 was appointed member of the Council and keeper of the stores at that place. He seems to have been somewhat of a favorite with Director Stuyvesant, and when the latter was trans-

ferred from Curaçoa to New Amsterdam, in the early part of 1647, Bridges, or Van Brugge, accompanied him from the West Indies, and upon reaching New Netherland, he received the appointment of commissary at Fort Orange, or Albany, where he appears to have taken the place of the unfortunate surgeon, Harmanus van der Bogaerdt.¹ As he was married just about this period to the widow Willet, it may be presumed that he resided at Fort Orange for some time, as we hear nothing further of him till 1651, when he was again in New Amsterdam, holding the office of commissary of provincial accounts, and in 1652 he was made Provincial Secretary. For many years, Bridges and his family, including his young step-sons, William and Thomas Willet, resided part of the time in the house on Hoogh Straet, which had belonged to Mrs. Bridges' first husband, or in Vlissingen, now Flushing upon Long Island, where Bridges early acquired interests. After the surrender of New Netherland to the English, in 1664, Charles Bridges, or Van Brugge, says Doctor O'Callaghan, "resumed his English name, appearing under it as one of the patentees of Flushing. With the return of the Dutch in 1673, he became again Carel van Brugge and was appointed clerk of the English towns upon Long Island, residing at Flushing, where he died, August, 1682." His wife Sarah, who survived him, married for her third husband John Lawrence, Jr., of Flushing; and some time prior to 1686, the property on Hoogh Straet was divided between Lawrence and Thomas Willet, son of the original grantee, Lawrence retaining the house and the eastern half of the plot of ground.

At the time of this partition, however, Thomas Willet's patrimony had been reduced in size by the sale of two small parcels from it many years before, by Charles Bridges and his wife, as it would seem. Of these parcels, one was a lot adjoining the Stadt Huys Lane, which came into the possession of George Woolsey, probably soon after the period of our survey. Woolsey was, it is believed, a native of the

¹ See *ante*, page 70.

ancient fishing town of Yarmouth, in the County of Norfolk, on the east coast of England, and as early as 1646 was the clerk or manager of Isaac Allerton, the active trader through whose hands passed most of the trade between New Amsterdam and the New England settlements, and whose warehouse stood upon the shore of the East River near the southwest corner of the present Pearl Street and Peck Slip. In December, 1647, about a month after the marriage of Charles Bridges, we find the marriage of George Woolsey to Rebecca Cornell, who was in all probability a sister of Mrs. Bridges. Just when Woolsey acquired this lot at the Stadt Huys Lane we are ignorant, as we are also of the time at which he built upon it; it was undoubtedly not until after the grading of the hill at this point, in 1656, in order to fill out in front of the Town Hall, as already mentioned; perhaps it was not until after 1659, when his employer, Isaac Allerton, died, and the business passed into other hands. Be this as it may, we find George Woolsey residing here for several years, until in 1668 he sold the premises to William Paterson. The dingy brick building which now occupies this site—a bagging and cooperage warehouse, No. 75 Pearl Street, the entrance to which stands in the perpetual twilight of the elevated railway structure above—is dull and commonplace enough to afford some ground for an impression that no associations of interest could possibly have marked the spot; yet here was apparently the residence for a time of a singular character, whose history, if fully known, might throw a great deal of light upon one of the historical mysteries of the seventeenth century, which has hitherto baffled many determined investigators. The matter seems to be of sufficient interest and importance to justify a digression from the plan of our survey.

William Paterson, to whom George Woolsey sold his house near the Town Hall, was a Scotchman who appeared in New York in or about the year 1668. He called himself a merchant, or trader, but his trading consisted principally, so far as we are informed, in the importation of liquor—

mainly rum, of course — from the West Indies. One circumstance attending Paterson's coming to New York cannot fail to arrest our attention; while most of the new traders, both Dutch and English, who had come to the small town, had engaged in business here cautiously, usually hiring a house until they were well established, and at most only purchasing a location for their store or warehouse, Paterson, within a very short time after his arrival, acquired possession of no less than six different pieces of property, four of which already contained houses upon them, while upon another of his lots he himself seems to have had a building erected soon after his purchase.¹

Of Paterson's life at New York we know but little; he appears to have possessed a keen sense of injustice, coupled with a quick temper, and this soon brought him into trouble there. In the early part of the spring of 1669, Paterson had brought a suit upon an account and other matters against one John Garland, and had recovered judgment. He was now endeavoring to obtain either the collection of his debt or security for the same from Garland; when another suit was brought against the latter by Isaac Bedlo, before the mayor and aldermen in the municipal court. Bedlo, being himself an alderman at the time, was of course a member of the court. This cause came on at the City Hall upon the 16th of March, 1669; no opposition was made by Garland, and

¹ These parcels acquired by Paterson were as follows: —

I. The house and lot above mentioned as having been purchased of George Woolsey, at the corner of the present Coenties Alley and Pearl Street.

II. A small house and lot on the east side of the present William Street, near Wall.

III. A house with nearly half an acre of ground lying upon an interior lane or passageway at one time called Smith's Street, but afterwards closed, a frontage having been obtained upon the later Smith's now William Street.

IV. A house and lot on the south side of Pearl Street between the fort and the river.

V. A small parcel of ground forming the portion lying towards Stone Street of the building known at present as the Old Cotton Exchange, fronting Hanover Square.

VI. A small lot of vacant ground at the southeast corner of the present Wall and William streets.

judgment was ordered against him upon the spot, for 3,727 florins' wampum, and an execution was ordered to be issued immediately. Paterson, who was present in the court, denounced this proceeding indignantly; it was only he said, "in color to deceive him and to prevent him from collecting his debt from Garland;" furthermore, the court was in no condition to pass any judgment, because, excluding Alderman Bedlo, the prescribed number of members was not complete. As a matter of fact, the court was composed entirely of old Dutch residents, and consisted, besides Cornelis van Steenwyck, the mayor, of Alderman Bedlo, François Boon, and Christopher Hooghlandt. In a matter taking the form of an issue between one of their own members and a stranger Scotchman, the action of the court was not likely to be materially different from that of more highly organized tribunals in similar cases, and we find that Paterson's protest not only received but scant consideration, but that, to complete the rather suspicious appearance of the case, Garland's attorney, who was present, rose and stated to the court that his client "found himself very much aggrieved by said judgments, and asked for an arrest" (that is, stay of proceedings) "till the return of his Honor the Governor, that he might petition for an appeal in said causes;" this the complaisant court allowed him at once.

Paterson does not appear to have become speedily reconciled to the proceedings of the Solons of the Mayor's Court in his case. He transferred a portion of his wrath to the Marshal of the Court, who held the executions against Garland; and in a few days we find that officer, Henry Newton, bringing "an action of Disfamation" against Paterson. In this he declares¹ that the Scotchman "hath greatly disfamed this plaintiff in doing his office as Marishal of this citty, in calling this plaintiff Roag, & would proeve him to be one before the Govern^r." The indignant court upon this occasion imposed upon Paterson for the insult to their officer a fine of 25 guilders, "and recommend him to take warning

¹ On the 6th of April, 1669.

not to affront or abuse any of the officers for the future any more, or that a greater penalty shall be imposed upon him according to the merits thereof."

Greatly irritated, no doubt, by these proceedings, Paterson seems soon to have departed from New York upon what appears to have been a trading or mercantile expedition to Albany; there he speedily fell into a worse difficulty than his previous one, and became the central figure in an affair which was the great topic of the day throughout the Colony, and which threatened for a time to bring about very serious difficulties between the Dutch colonists and their English rulers.

The captain of the English garrison at Albany at this time was one John Baker. If, as has been asserted, all the varieties of human character have been portrayed in the writings of Shakespeare, it is quite manifest that this man's type is to be found in *Ancient Pistol*. He was a swash-buckler of the first magnitude. Just what excited Captain Baker's ire against William Paterson at Albany we do not know, but to all appearance it was jealousy. Paterson, as it would seem, had, upon coming to Albany, hired a small house of Jochem Wessells, a baker by occupation, but who was at this time engaged in trading with the Indians. There is some evidence that this Jochem was the son of Paterson's near neighbor in New York, the old fisherman Wessell Evertsen; the sites of his house, and of that occupied by Paterson, were near the north gate of Albany, along the river shore, in a place upon which are situated at the present day some very dismal old houses, just north of the depot-yard of the New York Central Railway. The house hired of Jochem Wessells was tenanted by Paterson and his servant-man, who seem to have taken their meals at the house of Paterson's landlord. It was at the bench in front of the latter house, where Paterson sat on the evening of July 31, 1669, smoking a pipe after supper and conversing with Gertruyd, Jochem Wessells' wife, when Captain Baker, coming from a neighboring tavern, walked up to Paterson

and accosted him with a very foul imputation and insult. Paterson replied in a suitable manner and with cool temper, but Captain Baker, whose evident intention was, as Paterson states, "to pike a quarrel," after threatening to cut off Paterson's ears, etc., struck him in the face. Paterson hereupon stepped back into the doorway and warned his adversary against repeating the act, while Jochem's wife endeavored to separate the two men, but Baker again struck Paterson, and this time succeeded in bringing the Scotch blood into full play. Paterson sprang at his enemy, grasped him around the body, hurled him to the ground, and thrashed him at his pleasure, till the bystanders interfered in compassion on the unlucky captain. Baker, beside himself with rage, now repaired to the fort, where he ordered out a small detachment of his men, with whom he returned to the scene of battle. Finding the door of Jochem Wessells' house fastened, Baker ordered his men to burst it open, but the whole business was so manifestly lawless that the soldiers refused to obey his orders, whereupon the captain burst open the door himself with the butt of a musket. Not finding Paterson here, he having retired to his own house, the captain contented himself with striking and abusing Jochem Wessells' wife, whom he ordered to be put under arrest; after which, in Paterson's words, "he came running with his said guard to the house and lodging of this complainant, and without knocking or warning of this complainant that he would be in the house, he charged his said guard to break open the door of the complainants house . . . which they likewise refused to do; and this complainant, hearing the noise, being just ready to go abed, called out to them and said, 'Stay, Captain Baker, I will open the door.' But the said Baker replied, 'No, but I will break it open,' which he likewise did, . . . which being done, he came in with his sword drawn and pointed at this complainant with intent to have killed him, which he likewise would have done, in case it was not hindered by the Providence of God."¹

¹ The form of this providential hindrance is shown by the testimony of a witness, one Lambert Aelberts van Neck, a Dutch merchant from New York,

Paterson was now taken as a prisoner to the fort by Captain Baker, but that son of Mars in his blind fury had unwittingly stirred up an enemy against himself likely to give him much more trouble than did the bruises inflicted upon him by William Paterson; this was the Dutch community of Albany; the rights of criminal and of civil jurisdiction secured to their courts by the articles of surrender to the English had been so grossly violated by this exploit of Baker, that though the Dutch probably had but little personal interest in the stranger, William Paterson, yet as a matter of principle they took up his cause at once, and as one man. Late as it was on the night of the 31st of July, the magistrates were convened, and proceeded in a body to the fort, where they demanded Paterson's release. This was refused by Baker at first, but within twenty-four hours he began to see the danger of his position, and assented to Paterson's discharge.

In the mean time the Dutch magistrates permitted no delay. Though the next day was Sunday, the 1st of August, they held an extraordinary session in the afternoon, at which Paterson was present, and at which papers were prepared for transmission to the Governor and Council at New York. These were probably presented in person by Paterson, and they were quickly acted upon by the Governor, as the act with which Baker was charged was of a nature to stir up strife and sedition. Baker was consequently ordered to answer the charges at once, and he did so in a curious document, in which with the usual impudence of his kind he states that merely on account of his having spoken "in a familiar jesting manner" to Paterson he was made the victim of a most atrocious assault by that individual, "for in a very outrageous manner, he flew upon this defendant with so fierce

who was among the crowd attracted to the spot by the uproar. He says that Paterson offered to open the door, "but before he came the door lay prostrate at his feet. Then Captain Baker said, 'Here, you Scotch dog, you must come along;' and violently entering with his sword drawn, Mr. Paterson caught him around the body, and Captain Baker tried to run Mr. Paterson through with his sword from above."

an assault that he beat him to the ground, defendant not in the least suspecting that he durst have been so presumptuous as to have attempted such an action in the street, without respect to this defendants (office ?) under yo^r Hon^r." The captain furthermore avers that he did not so much care for the beating he received personally, "but that he considered it done in contempt of Government," and that he therefore considered it his duty to place Paterson under arrest; "but he falsely allegeth that I kept him prisoner for twenty-one hours, for after one hour was expired, he stay'd the rest of the time for his recreation." He considers Paterson as a contentious fellow, who "hath stuffed this, his information, with lyes & idle allegations; and further that he is not the first by many that he hath affronted and abused at Albany." He hopes that Paterson will now be made a severe example of.

The reading of this precious production appears to have completed the disgust of the Governor and Council. An order was made upon the 18th of August suspending Captain Baker from his command, and allowing Paterson to prosecute him in the civil courts, and ordering the soldiers of his guard to give in their depositions. As they all gave in their depositions with great promptness against their commander, one may infer that he was not a very popular officer.

On the 26th of August, an attachment or arrest, in the sum of £200, was issued against Captain Baker's house and effects at Albany, and — strangely enough — upon the night of the 28th of August an attempt was made to burn the house of William Paterson, in New York. As to this latter affair and its cause, we have nothing but surmises; all that we are informed is that upon the 2d of September, the culprit, Daniel Dillon, aged sixteen years, for attempting to set fire to William Paterson's house "by putting a brand of fire under the door of said house," was sentenced "to be whipt twelve slashes," to be kept in prison at the pleasure of the court, and to be banished from the city "during his life."

A special court, composed of several prominent citizens, and headed by Cornelis van Steenwyck, the Mayor of New York, had been appointed to try Paterson's cause against Captain Baker. There was evidently a desire in several quarters that the matter should not be carried to too rigorous conclusions, the offence, in its criminal aspect, including technically the capital crime of burglary. Captain Baker had humbled himself so far as to write the following document:

"Mr Paterson: I am contented to submit to the order of ye Committee appointed by his honor the Governor Col. Lovelace, to determine the difference betweene you and myselfe, and do confesse what I did at Albany to you was Rashly and unadvisedly done, and I am willing to be friends with you & desire yr excuse for my Passion, and so do drinck to you."

Paterson himself seems likewise to have been anxious to have this troublesome case disposed of as soon as possible. His sojourn at New York and at Albany had been attended with several annoying experiences, and at this time he appears to have been endeavoring to close up his not very profitable "trading" ventures at New York, preparatory to returning to Scotland. Upon the 6th of October, 1669, we find that the special court or commission appointed to try Baker's case, having made a recommendation that the parties should come to some agreement, reports that "Mr. Paterson flong up his papers and left the case to be decided by the committee." They thereupon, having found that Captain Baker was in fault, order him to pay to Paterson the sum of 200 guilders sewant, or about \$80 of the present currency, — so the case appears to have ended.¹

Paterson, at about this time, or in the fall of 1669, quitted New York without having disposed of any of his lands and houses in that town. How these were managed,² or in what

¹ By an order of the Council dated May 14, 1670, Captain Baker was dismissed from the service.

² Probably by agents, for a number of years afterwards we are informed that "Mr. Bayard" — probably Nicholas Bayard — had a letter of attorney from Paterson, "in 1669, when he went away." In the following year he gave another letter of attorney to one William Taylor.

condition they were left we do not know, for no further entries appear in the records respecting him or his property until the capture of New York by the Dutch took place, in the year 1673. At that time all of Paterson's property in the city was confiscated and granted to various persons by the Dutch Governor Colve, on the ground that Paterson, being a resident of Scotland, was not protected by the articles of surrender. After the restoration of New York to the English, and about 1675, it would appear that Paterson, through an attorney, attempted to recover some compensation for the loss of his property, but the records are extremely meagre, amounting to little more than a calendar, in which Paterson's claim appears two or three times. The occupants of the premises were sustained by the court in their possession under Governor Colve's grants; but a memorandum was made that "in consideration of Mr. Paterson's loosing his houses" he should have "for each house a lot of vacant ground in some convenient place within this city, to bee laid out by the magistrates with the first convenience." No action, however, appears to have taken place by the magistrates to carry out this recommendation.

Paterson appears, however, to have had sufficient influence in England to induce the Duke of York to interest himself in the affair, for upon the 17th of May, 1676, we find the Governor and Council making a minute in their records, wherein after reciting that Mr. Paterson's case "having been taken into consideration in obedience to His Royal Highness' commands," they proceed to state that "such of his houses as were disposed of in the time of the warre being confirmed to ye Possessors by the Court of Assize, it is not knowne how hee can be relieved therein."

Ten years were now suffered to elapse by Paterson, when, in June, 1684, he being then described as a merchant of Edinburgh, we find him executing a power of attorney to George Lockhart, chirurgion, a Scotchman residing at the time in New York,¹ authorizing him "to sue for and recover

¹ Lockhart was quite prominently interested in the proprietary grant of East Jersey, of which he claimed himself to be a large owner. In 1683, he

all and sundry houses, plantations, etc., belonging to me in New York, Albany and the colonies of New England, or in any other parts of America whatsoever, and to sell and dispose of the same," etc. Under this power of attorney (which was executed at Edinburgh before Watts Marshall and J. Barbour, witnesses) several releases were executed in the year 1685 by Lockhart, to the former grantees of Paterson's property.

These proceedings terminate Paterson's connection with New York, so far as appears from the records, and we are now brought to the question of historical significance suggested in the early portion of the sketch of that individual's transactions at New York. The question is this: Was William Paterson, trader at New York in the years 1668 and 1669, the same William Paterson who nearly a quarter of a century later, in England, originated the plan for the establishment of the Bank of England, and thus laid the foundation for the whole system of modern finance?

About the early life of the man who may be regarded as the real founder of the Bank of England, there has hitherto been an almost impenetrable veil of obscurity, and it seems to have been Paterson's desire to increase, as far as possible, the air of mystery which encompassed him. A voluminous writer of pamphlets in favor of the varied projects of his fertile brain, he chose to issue them anonymously. Vigorously attacked and denounced by his numerous enemies on account of his financial theories, and later by reason of his unfortunate Darien scheme, which had like to have set the whole island of Britain by the ears, he rarely condescended to notice their vilification of himself and their insinuations as to his past life. Probably the necessity of reply was not very great, for neither Paterson's enemies nor his friends seem to have been able, in spite of what must have been the

made a proposition to the Board of Proprietors of that province, that upon receiving the appointment of marshal, with a grant of ten acres in the village of Perth, he would at his own expense build a prison and town-house there. (See Doc. relating to Colonial History of N. J., i. 430.)

most strenuous exertions on their part, to find much that was definitely known either against him or in his favor. "Of his early life," says Macaulay, "little is known except that he was a native of Scotland, and that he had been in the West Indies. In what character he had visited the West Indies was a matter about which his contemporaries differed. His friends said that he had been a missionary; his enemies that he had been a buccaneer. He seems to have been gifted by nature with fertile invention, an ardent temperament, and great powers of persuasion, and to have acquired somewhere in the course of his vagrant life a perfect knowledge of accounts."

Premising that the name of William Paterson is a very common one in Scotland, the fact remains that there are several singular coincidences which seem to go far in support of a theory that the persons referred to above under the same name are one and the same individual. The principal accounts of what is known of the life of William Paterson have been written by Mr. Saxe Bannister¹ and by Mr. William Pagan,² but neither of these writers has contributed much to our knowledge of Paterson's earlier years.

In discussing this matter, it is necessary first of all to notice an alleged discovery made by Mr. Bannister, which, *if the facts stated therein be reliable*, effectually disposes of any notion that William Paterson, the financier and projector of the Scotch colony of Darien, could have been the person of that name in New York in 1668-69. This is a statement respecting his own age, claimed by Bannister to exist in the will of William Paterson,—a statement not only of an extraordinary nature in itself, but one which, though of the utmost importance to their respective writings, is treated with such amazing carelessness, by both Bannister and Pagan, as to deprive their remarks upon the subject of any substantial value.

¹ Life and Trials of William Paterson, by S. Bannister, 1858-59.

² The Birthplace and Parentage of William Paterson. By W. Pagan. Edinburgh, 1865.



WILLIAM PATERSON.

From a wash-drawing in the British Museum.



After fixing, according to his belief, the place of Paterson's birth to a farm called Skipmyre in the parish of Tinwall, in the southern portion of Dumfries shire, in Scotland¹ (of which parish, however, no ancient baptismal records exist), Bannister remarks (page 35): "The time of his birth can be settled exactly from his will, in which he states himself to be, at its date, the 1st day of July, 1718, sixty-three years and three months old, which refers his birth to March or April, 1655." On page 425 of his work, Bannister gives in full (or in what purports to be so) the will of William Paterson, *in which there is not the least allusion to his age*; nor is this explained or corrected in a subsequent edition of Bannister's work.

To make matters worse, Pagan, in his sketch of Paterson's life, says (page 6) that the will, *as quoted by Mr. Bannister*, from the record in Doctors' Commons, London, runs as follows, etc., etc.: "In witness whereof I have hereto subscribed my name and put my seal, at Westminster this 1st day of July, 1718, in the *sixtieth* year and third month of my age. (Signed) WM. PATERSON."

Under ordinary circumstances, it would be necessary, first, to resort to the original will, to know what this statement as to age really was (if it existed in fact), and then to examine why this strange clause was inserted at all in the instrument, — for most persons who are familiar with the forms of English wills must recognize the fact that a statement of age is

¹ Not far from where, in an almost Italian landscape of lakes, groves, meadows, cornfields, and distant mountains, Lochmaben stands, in the vale of Annan, — the land of the Johnstones, sung by many a Scottish poet, and enriched with many a legend of border warfare:

"As I came by Lochmaben gate,
 There I saw the Johnstones riding:
 Away they go, and fear no foe,
 Wi' their drums a-beating, colors flying.
 A' the lads o' Annandale
 Came there their valiant chiefs to follow,
 Brave Burleigh, Ford, and Ramerscale,
 Wi' Winton, and the gallant Rollo," etc.

most unusual in such documents, and is apparently made for some distinct purpose.

There are, however, so many clear indications that this statement of age (either of sixty or of sixty-three years) is erroneous, and that Paterson's age must have been at least ten years greater than the highest age given above, that we may assume, for the present purpose, that one or the other of these ages is really given in the will, without at all conceding the accuracy of the statement there made. What Paterson's mental condition was at the time of making this will (executed only a few months before his death) we cannot tell. He had undoubtedly fallen upon dark days, had given up the house in Westminster, in which he had long resided; and at the time of making his will, he was staying at the Ship Inn (on the north side of the Strand, some half-dozen houses west of old Temple Bar, in London), in a condition which appears to have approached destitution. Whether age, poverty, disappointments, and sickness may have impaired the once active memory of this strange character, or whether the age statement was designedly inserted to increase the mystery about a period of his life which he wished to remain obscure, one can only surmise. Some matters in apparent contradiction should now be noticed.

I. William Paterson's ingenious and profound financial theories are known to have been elaborated by him and brought to public attention in several European countries (though unsuccessfully) as early as 1686 or 1687, — at which period, if his age as given in the will is correct, he must have been only twenty-eight or thirty years old. This, of course, is not impossible, and Paterson's ideas are undoubtedly, to a certain extent, the intuitions of genius; but they are intuitions founded upon a knowledge which must have been acquired only by long and varied observation of human nature, and by experience of the most diverse business operations; insomuch that it is very difficult to believe that he should have been able to acquire and to digest such knowledge at the age named.

II. It seems to be generally conceded that Paterson's wandering life began with his flight from Scotland in his youth, to escape trouble arising in some way out of the religious persecutions under which the Scottish Presbyterians were suffering at the hands of the dominant Church of England party, which, though few in numbers, became the ruling faction at the Restoration of monarchy in England in 1660. It appears to be further conceded that after a short sojourn in England, during which he followed the avocation of a pedler, he made his way thence to the West Indies.

In an old pamphlet in the Bodleian Library, Mr. Eliot Warburton, who wrote a semi-historical romance, of which Paterson was the hero, found it stated, as he claims, that Paterson's family, being alarmed by intelligence of warrants having been issued against him, on a charge of being a confederate of the proscribed Presbyterians, "he went speedily away into England, and took refuge there with a relative of his mother, a widow at Bristol."

A scurrilous pamphlet was written by one Hodges, in the interest of Paterson's enemies, at the time of the Darien scheme, or about the year 1699. In this it is said that he "came from Scotland in his younger years, with a pack on his back, whereof the print may be seen, if he be alive. Having travelled this country some years, he seated himself under the wing of a warm widow near Oxford, where, finding that preaching was an easier trade than his own, he soon found himself gifted with an *anaclets* spirit. Prophets being generally despised at home, he went on the *propaganda fide* account to the West Indies, and was one of those who settled the isle of Providence a second time. But meeting some hardships and ill-luck there, to wit, a Governor being imposed on them by the king of England, which his conscience could not admit of, the prospects of their constitution were altered, and they could no longer have a free port and sanctuary for buccaneers, pirates, and such vermin. . . . This disappointment obliged *Predicant* Paterson to shake

the dust from off his shoes, and leave that island under his *anathema*." Now let us see what the reference to the island of Providence means.

It was about in the year 1664 that the freebooter, Mansveld (of unknown nationality), who had acquired a leadership among the buccaneers or piratical adventurers who then swarmed in the West Indies, conceived the design of forming a permanent establishment or headquarters upon one of the islands of the West Indian seas. The spot selected was the small island of Santa Catalina, afterwards known as Providence, situated a little more than a hundred miles east of the "Mosquito Shore" of Honduras, and some four hundred miles southwest of the island of Jamaica; it was called Old Providence, to distinguish it from New Providence in the Bahama Islands. This island was already in the possession of the Spaniards, who had fortified it; but in the year above named, Mansveld attacked it with a mixed force of French and English buccaneers, captured the island with the Spanish soldiers, and established there a garrison of his own men. In order to lend an air of legitimacy to his operations, Mansveld attempted to secure the sanction and aid of the English Governor of Jamaica; this, however, he was unable to get, — not at all on account of the character of his performance, but apparently because of the jealousy of the governor. While attempting to secure aid elsewhere, Mansveld died, and the command came to his lieutenant, the notorious Henry Morgan, a Welshman.

In the mean time, while the affairs of the buccaneers were yet in uncertainty, the Spaniards, in the summer of 1665, as we learn from Spanish authorities, recaptured the island, taking the garrison of buccaneers prisoners. Morgan, however, never lost sight of his predecessor's design, and after some time spent in recruiting his force of adventurers, and in committing depredations upon the Spaniards, he appears to have regained possession of Old Providence at a date which is not accurately known, the accounts being very

vague and conflicting, but which is supposed to have been in 1666 or 1667.¹

Bannister has apparently confounded this island of Santa Catalina, or Providence, with New Providence in the Bahamas, for he says (page 45 of his work): "In a contemporary tract, written by James Hodges, who was then employed by the English minister to attack the Scottish Company, it is asserted that Paterson joined in the settlement of New Providence in the Bahamas,² a highly probable fact."

Now as for this latter island, its history, in brief, is this: it was first settled in 1629 by the English, and was held by them till 1641, when they were expelled by the Spaniards. The latter, however, did not attempt to establish themselves upon this island, and it remained unoccupied till the year 1667, when it was again taken possession of by the English, — at which date William Paterson was only ten or twelve years old, if the statement in the will is correct; so that it would not at all be "a highly probable fact" that he was "one of those who settled the isle of Providence a second time," but, on the contrary, highly improbable.

The reference by Hodges, however, to Paterson's presence at the island of Providence is so distinctly in the nature of a slur, and derives its point so directly from his alleged connection with the buccaneers, that one can scarcely come to the conclusion that any other meaning was intended by that

¹ The island was retaken by Morgan in all probability before the treaty of 13-23 May, 1667, concluded between Great Britain and Spain at Madrid, by which the occupation of several disputed territories by the respective powers was ratified and confirmed to each. It is thought by the writer to be this sort of legalization of possession and its attendant results which are referred to by Hodges in the extract given in the text, when he speaks of a governor being imposed on the so-called "settlers" of the island of Providence. This treaty of 1667, though it was immediately and grossly violated by the buccaneers, was preserved by the terms of the more elaborate and better-known treaty of peace and amity, oblivion of injuries, etc., negotiated between the two countries by Lord Godolphin in the year 1670: "Que de ninguna manera se entiendan abolidos ò derogados por los presentes articulos y convenciones el tratado de paz ò amistad ajustado en Madrid el dia 1^o/₃ de Mayo," etc.

² This is merely Bannister's inference. The pamphlet does not say so at all, as will be seen from the quotation above.

writer than that Paterson was present at the first or second capture of Santa Catalina. The importance of Hodges' statement, however, lies not in its proving or tending to prove that Paterson actually was at either Providence or New Providence in the years 1664 to 1667, but that his contemporaries generally must have ascribed to him an age sufficiently great to have relieved this statement from the charge of absurdity to which it would have been open, had Paterson been born in the year 1658 or in 1655; in other words, that he was generally considered at the time of Hodges' pamphlet, in 1699, to be a man of fifty years of age and over, rather than of about forty.

III. It has been already stated that writers are agreed that William Paterson's departure from Scotland was in some manner owing to the persecutions by the Church of England party against the Scottish Presbyterians. These persecutions had their origin in what is known in English Church history as the "Act of Uniformity," of October, 1662, under which the Scottish clergymen were ordered to conform to the rites of the Church of England. Refusing to do so, most of them were driven from their pulpits; and as they persisted in preaching at what were known as conventicles, or gatherings in private houses, or in the woods and fields, a severe act against this practice was passed in 1664; and this proving ineffectual, in 1665 a force of troops was sent into the west of Scotland to put down the refractory clergy and their supporters; and during the period from 1665 to 1667, the troops being then commanded by Sir James Turner and the notorious "Tom Dalziel," great cruelties were inflicted upon the unfortunate Presbyterians, and multitudes of them were compelled to fly from the country. The persecutions by the English Church party were spasmodic in their nature. A lull followed Dalziel's bloody performances, and then, in 1669 and 1670, persecution again broke out, and many more of the Scots fled from their country. It is evident, however, that if the dates of Paterson's birth, as

given by Bannister and by Pagan, — 1655 or 1658, — are, either of them, correct, it could have been neither of these persecutions that drove William Paterson out of Scotland.¹ A long period of inaction now followed, while the English court was coquetting with the dissenters, in order to gain their political support; and it was not until 1679–80, the period of the murder of Archbishop Sharpe and of the battle of Bothwell Brigg, that the non-conformists again felt the heavy hand of the government, at which time the allusions referred to above, as to Paterson's subsequently taking part in the settlement of the island of Providence, etc., would have lost all meaning.

If William Paterson, the financier and statesman of Great Britain, was born in the year 1655, or in 1658, we know nothing definite, and are not likely to ever know anything of his early history, because all the theories which we can reasonably form seem to be met by apparently irreconcilable facts. If, on the contrary, Paterson was a man at least ten years older, we have certainly a succession of events which are not only consistent with the historical data which we have respecting him, but are also consistent with his having been a resident of New York and of Albany in the years 1668–69. In this aspect of the case one might readily form a theory that William Paterson, — then a young man of eighteen or nineteen, — driven from his home in Scotland by the Conventicle Act of 1664, had found his way to the West Indies, and had placed himself under Morgan's command, in time to take part in the capture of the island of Providence in about the year 1666; and that after the treaty of 1667, either tiring of his connection with his rough associates, or the strong moral sense with which he was undoubtedly endowed, rebelling against their performances, he had quitted his companions and made his way to New York in the next year. We have even the fact that in 1668, a piratical or quasi-piratical vessel actually arrived at New

¹ The so-called Conventicle Act and its penalties only applied to persons over sixteen years of age.

York from the West Indies, and was the subject of certain proceedings there in the Court of Admiralty. This was the so-called privateer "Cedar." She seems to have been a Spanish vessel which had recently been captured with a cargo of Campeachy wood, in the West Indies, by Captain Thomas Salter of Port Royal in the island of Jamaica, who is described as "commander of a private man-of-war." Salter placed a crew upon the vessel, under the command of William Smith as master, with orders to carry her to Jamaica; but Captain Smith determined to make a voyage on his own account, and accordingly sailed for New York. Whom the vessel brought with her we do not know, as the proceedings only allude incidentally to a few of the crew; but it is certain that the first information we have of William Paterson in New York was very soon after the arrival of this vessel. If, as a matter of conjecture (for there is certainly no proof), any portion of the spoils of the Spaniards in the West Indies — or possibly of Morgan's sack of the town of Porto Bello, in 1668 — actually went into the purchase of Paterson's various parcels of real estate in New York, he was fully confirmed in its possession, and released from any possible apprehensions of the criminal law, by Lord Godolphin's "Treaty of Oblivion" with Spain, which was promulgated in July, 1669,¹ though it was not formally ratified by the British and Spanish governments till the following year. It will be noticed that this date coincides closely with Paterson's departure from New York and his presumed return to Europe.

¹ See Bridges, "Annals of Jamaica," page 266. This famous treaty contains the following provisions (Article VII.): "Que todas las ofensas, perdidas, daños é injurias que las naciones Española é inglesa huvieron padecido reciprocamente en la America en qualesquiera tiempos passados, por qualquier causa ó pretexto por una ó otra de las partes, se pongan en olvido, y se borren enteramente de la memoria, como si nunca huviesen sucedido."

"That all offences, losses, depredations, and wrongs which the Spanish and English nations shall have reciprocally suffered in America, in whatever times past, upon whatever cause or pretext, upon either side, *shall be buried in oblivion and entirely banished from memory*, as if they had never happened."

There is another matter of some importance which remains to be considered. In the Colonial Records at Albany we possess two of the original signatures of William Paterson of New York. One of these is affixed to the complaint made by him against Captain Baker, already alluded to; the other, to a bond given by Paterson to prosecute that officer. Upon comparing these signatures with the known signatures of William Paterson, the Scottish statesman, much apparent dissimilarity appears on a casual view. Examining them, however, more carefully, we find that the apparent difference is chiefly owing to a series of complicated and clumsy flourishes at the beginning and at the end of the signatures of 1669. Leaving these out of view, and remembering that—upon the theory that the signatures were made by the same individual—we are comparing the handwriting of a very young man, of not much school education, and fresh from a life of hardship and adventure, with that made forty or fifty years later by the fluent writer and pamphleteer, deeply immersed in important political and business enterprises,—and there certainly seems to be a very striking, indeed, almost startling resemblance between the signatures. The very peculiar form of the capital letter P will be noticed at once. A comparison of the signatures is as follows:—



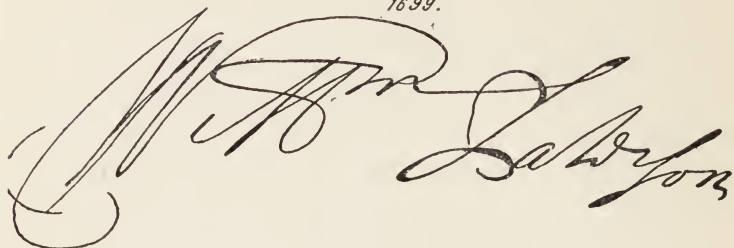
1. Signature of William Paterson to the complaint against Captain Baker, August 14, 1669.¹



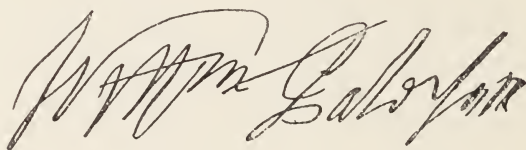
¹ From N. Y. Colonial MSS. Vol. 22, page 78.

2. Same from bond or recognizance of Paterson to prosecute Captain Baker for burglary, etc., August 19, 1669.¹

1699.


 A large, flowing handwritten signature in dark ink, likely of William Paterson, with a long, sweeping underline.

3. From an original letter of 1699 in the Advocates Library, Edinburgh. (Taken from Bannister's Work.)


 A handwritten signature in dark ink, similar to the one above, with a long, sweeping underline.

4. From an original letter in the British State Paper Office, of December 18, 1718. (From Bannister's Work.)

As to the body of the documents in the Colonial Records which have just been alluded to, they are evidently drawn up by another hand, doubtless either by an attorney or by the court clerk; but the language of the complaint is, in all probability, that of the complainant himself. Now those familiar with the writings of the financier and statesman will remember that he is exceedingly prone to allude frequently, in a reverent manner, to the interpositions of Divine Providence in the affairs of men. His account of the Darien expedition, especially, contains many such allusions, and one can hardly peruse them without recurring at once to the words of the complaint at Albany: "he came in with his sword drawn and pointed at this complainant, with intent to

¹ From N. Y. Col. MSS., Vol. 22, page 89.

have killed him, which he likewise would have done, in case it was not hindered by the Providence of God."

In studying the life of William Paterson, as presented to us by his biographers, one receives the impression that he is considering the career of a man of strong and vigorous character, of great natural abilities, of wide experience of men and of affairs, it is true; but still of one who has been exalted by circumstances into a position of great public prominence,¹ beyond what he could have anticipated, or perhaps even have hoped for. Some unknown sentiment, however, possibly pride, or possibly a sense of moral propriety, seems to be operating constantly upon him, inducing him to throw himself into the background, as it were, and to cover his own individuality with an air of mystery and of obscurity, especially in so far as his early life was concerned. Deeply interested in, and intimately acquainted with, the trade of the West Indies, as he was, and voluminous writer as he was upon that subject,—projector of the Darien colony, in which expedition he took a personal part and of which he has given a long account,—he affords us nowhere any definite information as to how he acquired his knowledge relating to those parts of the globe, or as to his personal experiences there, except the one allusion which seems, as it were, to escape from him inadvertently, when speaking of his encountering in the West Indies, upon the Darien expedition

¹ "The great projector," says Macaulay, in speaking of the Darien scheme, "was the idol of the whole nation. Men spoke to him with more profound respect than to the Lord High Commissioner. His antechamber was crowded with solicitors desirous to catch some drops of that golden shower of which he was supposed to be the dispenser. To be seen walking with him in the High Street, to be honored by him with a private interview of a quarter of an hour, were enviable distinctions." And again: "His countenance, his voice, his gestures, indicated boundless self-importance. When he appeared in public he looked—such is the language of one who probably had often seen him—like Atlas, conscious that a world was on his shoulders. But the airs which he gave himself only heightened the respect and admiration which he inspired. His demeanor was regarded as a model. Scotchmen, who wished to be thought wise, looked as like Paterson as they could."

in 1698, a certain Captain Richard Moon, he says: "This man I had known in Jamaica many years before."¹

Was William Paterson's strange self-concealment due to the unhappy experiences of his younger years in the West Indies and in New York, which (after the fashion of Lord Godolphin with the exploits of the English freebooters) he wished to be "buried in oblivion, and entirely banished from memory"? We can only answer in the favorite words of the Jewish historian, Josephus, when he encounters a particularly knotty question of history or of human conduct: "Now as to these matters let every one determine as he pleases."

To the eastward of the house and land of Charles Bridges (formerly that of Thomas Willet) was, at the time of our survey, a narrow lane, leading from the High Street down to the East River shore. This lane, which occupied the site of the present building, No. 52 Stone Street, and which has been previously alluded to,² is shown upon "The Duke's Plan," of 1661, but appears to have been closed within the next two or three years,³ as it is not shown upon the Nicoll map of about 1666; it is, however, alluded to in a deed of 1672, as "a certain narrow lane," and may have been still used, in part, as a private lane at the latter date. This lane separated the original grant of Thomas Willet from that of his English neighbor, Richard Smith.

Richard Smith, a native of Gloucestershire, in England, was one of the pioneers of the New England settlements.

¹ Paterson arrived at New York in August, 1699, on his return from the Darien Expedition. He was at this time, as he tells us, so sick that his life was despaired of. The order permitting him to bring his baggage ashore is to be found in the Council Minutes; it bears date Aug. 23, 1699.

² See *ante*, page 172.

³ On the the 28th of March, 1658, Solomon La Chair, who at that time had a lot upon which he kept a small tavern, which lot immediately adjoined the lane referred to above, on the west, requested of the burgomasters to know "whether the street lying beside his lot to the left of Carel van Brugge, and bought from him, shall be given for a lot, or if a street shall remain." To this request, the magistrates caused a reply to be made, that "the street remains provisionally for the use of the city till further order."

He came at an early day to Plymouth Colony, and was one of the principal men among those who, pushing out through the sandy forests westwards, a score of miles or more, founded the old town of Taunton, where the dark waters of the Taunton River flowed sluggishly through overhanging woods and bushes. Smith appears to have been a man of some independence in his views upon church dogmas, — like Roger Williams, with whom he was intimately connected; and his intolerant associates in the Taunton settlement annoying him on this account, he removed still further to the west, and, having purchased a tract of land from the Indians, on the west side of Narragansett Bay, he erected a trading house, about 1638, in what is now North Kingston, in the State of Rhode Island,—his nearest English neighbors for several years being at Warwick, nearly ten miles up the bay.

It was probably at Taunton that Richard Smith became acquainted with the Reverend Francis Doughty, a dissenting English clergyman, who had come over to the Plymouth Colony, hoping to enjoy liberty of conscience there, but who was harassed and forced to take refuge beyond the Narragansett Bay, much as Richard Smith had been. These men, with a few others, resolved to resort to New Amsterdam in search of a settlement; and there, on the 28th of March, 1642, Francis Doughty obtained, for the benefit of himself and of his associates, from Director-General Kieft, a patent for more than thirteen thousand acres, forming the larger portion of the subsequent town of Newtown, upon Long Island, in the present Borough of Queens, New York City. Richard Smith seems to have taken part in the settlement which was immediately commenced near the Mespit Kill (now Newtown Creek), and it seems quite probable that "Smith's Island," a small island in the Newtown Creek, upon which, some ten or twelve years later, it was proposed to establish a village to be called Arnheim, received its name from this man.

In 1643, after the breaking out of the Indian war, the

settlement along the Mespat Kill was destroyed by the natives; and Richard Smith, in order to attend to his interests here, probably found it necessary to establish a residence in New Amsterdam, which he did by acquiring, in 1645, the plot upon Hoogh Straet which we are now considering, and by building a house for himself about upon the site of the present warehouse, No. 56 Stone Street. The building would appear to have been of the usual English cottage type, — a low double house, broad side to the street, — for, in 1651, we are informed, in an instrument affecting the property, that the east end of the structure was then occupied by one Randel Hewit.

Smith himself, in all probability, only made occasional use of this house, either for a residence or for storehouse purposes. He still retained his trading house on Narragansett Bay, and as early as 1651 he was the master of a coasting vessel, — a bark called the "Welcome," with which he made occasional voyages to the Dutch settlements on the South or Delaware River.¹ His New Amsterdam possessions appear to have been, much of the time, under the care of his son, Richard Smith, junior, — who afterwards became prominent as the patentee of most of the territory now known as Smithtown, in Suffolk County on Long Island, bearing there the appellation of Richard Smith, senior, to distinguish him from his son Richard, grandson of the original colonist.

Richard Smith seems to have been somewhat unfortunate with his property in New Amsterdam. As early as 1651,

¹ The nature of a part of Smith's trading operations appears in a suit brought by him against Cornelis Melyn of Staten Island, in 1660. It seems that about the year 1655, Melyn was owing Smith something like nine pounds sterling; and the latter agreed to take, in satisfaction for his debt, "two ankers of strong waters," which were to be delivered to him at Melyn's house upon Staten Island. Smith, however, delayed removing his property until the Indian War of 1655 broke out, in which the Indians destroyed Melyn's house and made short work of Richard Smith's "strong waters." Subsequently, during Melyn's absence in the Netherlands, Smith came with several Englishmen, and, as was claimed by Melyn, terrified the wife of the latter into signing a promissory note as agent of her husband, for the amount of the original debt. The matter appears to have been compromised between the parties.

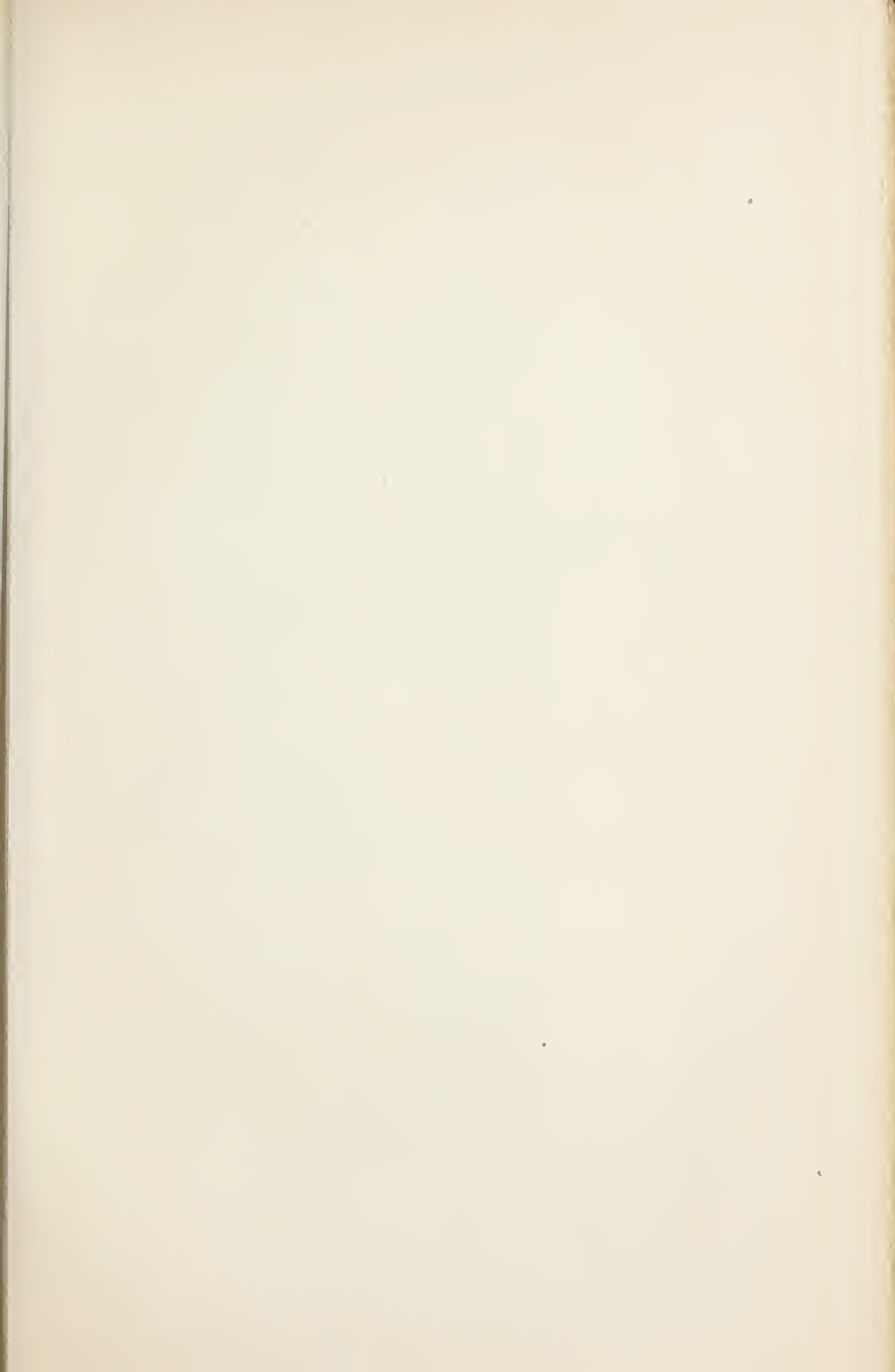
he had sold the house to one Gillis Pietersen, but appears to have soon had it back upon his hands, probably by virtue of a mortgage which he held. During the long absences of himself and of his son, the place appears to have become neglected. The easternmost lot of the property having been sold within a year or so after the time of our survey, to the glassmaker, Evert Duyckingh, who had built upon it, we find, in 1659, the burgomasters of the town, who erroneously supposed that Duyckingh owned the whole parcel, serving a notice upon him to improve the same; in answer to this he appears before the magistrates, and disclaims the ownership of the property, but says that he is authorized by the owner to sell it, and that "Mr. Smit himself has valued it at five hundred beavers." By 1662, Smith had succeeded in closing out his interests in New Amsterdam, his house and most of the plot of land having been sold to one Jan Hendricksen Stilman, a well-known character of the town, to whom the nickname of Koopal, or "Buy Everything" had been given by his neighbors; the house, at this time, is somewhat dubiously described as "a superstructure."

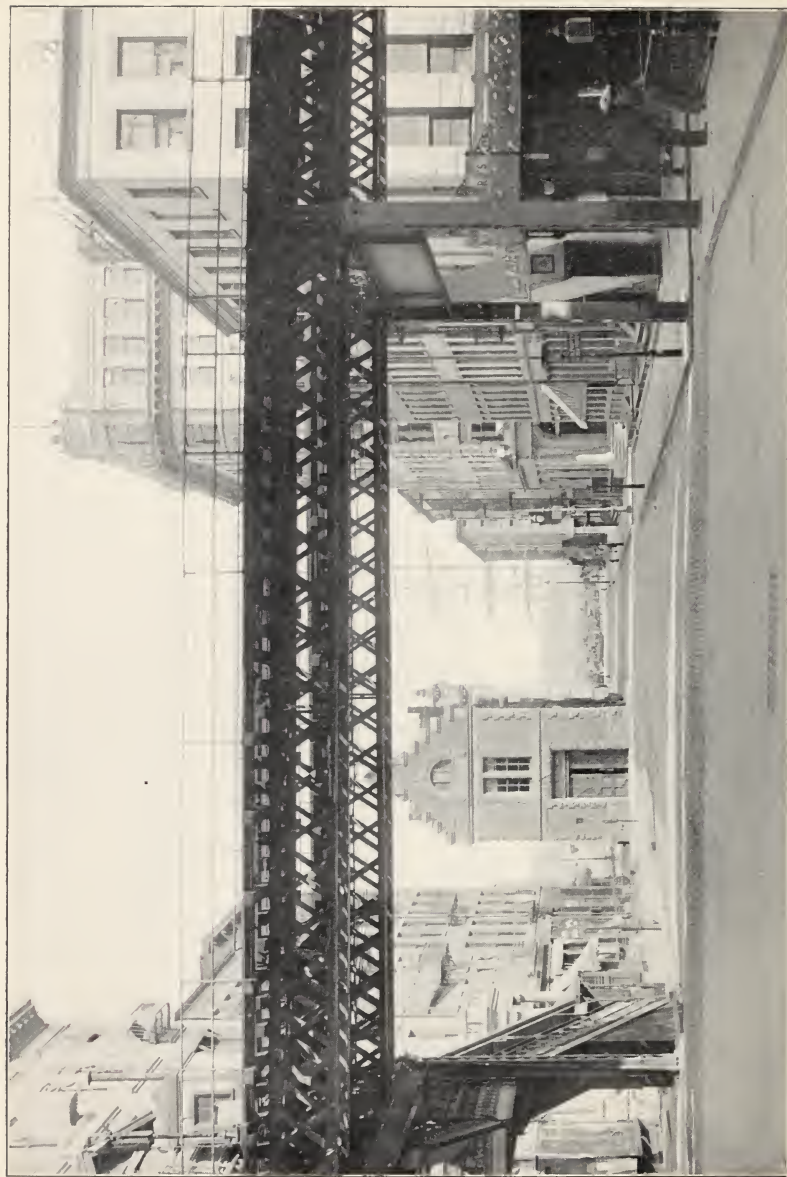
This transaction apparently terminated the connection of Richard Smith with the town of New Amsterdam. He lived for a number of years afterwards, and is spoken of in terms of warm esteem by his friend, the famous Roger Williams. "Mr. Richard Smith," says the latter, writing in 1679, "for his conscience to God, left fair possessions in Glostershire, and adventured, with his relations and estates to N. England, and was a most acceptable inhabitant and prime leading man in Taunton, in Plymouth Colony. For his conscience sake, many differences arising, he left Taunton and came to the Nahiggonsik country, where by God's Mercy, and the favor of the Nahiggonsik sachems, he broke the ice at his great charge and hazard, and put up in the thickest of the barbarians, the first English house amongst them. . . . He kept possession, coming and going, himself, children, and servants, and he had quiet possession of his housing, lands, and meadow; and there, in his own house, with much seren-

ity of soul and comfort, he yielded up his spirit to God, the Father of Spirits, in peace."

A short distance east of Richard Smith's plot of ground upon the East River, the land between the road and the river shore was intersected by the gully or ravine, known as "Burger's Path." A small parcel of ground intervened, however, containing about fifty English feet front upon the road, or Hoogh Straet, and extending some eighty feet or thereabouts to the crumbling bank above the beach. Upon this ground, just about at the period of our survey, Abraham Martensen Clock and Tryntje, his huysvrouw, had built for themselves a small house. This stood apparently near the bank of the river, and about at the southwestern corner of the site of the modern building now known as the Old Cotton Exchange. Abraham Clock received his ground-brief for this parcel of land in the year 1655, it being described as a "lot on the east side of the lot of Richard Smith, and on the west side of the road which Burger Joris uses to go to the river side." The premises seem to have contained a well of some repute, the site of which is clearly marked in the conveyances of this property, and which may, indeed, still exist under the Old Cotton Exchange which at the present day covers Abraham Clock's modest holding, — house-site, garden, and all. This well was at the right of the entrance to the modern building, upon Hanover Square, and about eighteen feet back from the street line.

Of Abraham Clock, but little is known; he was living here as late as 1664, but died within a few years after that date. One of the trials of his humble life at this spot was that his plot of ground was subject to the encroachments of the waves at high tides. Later, in 1672, when his widow, Tryntje, had been ordered to fill out the street, or Waal, in front of her premises, and also the hollow way upon the east, she declared herself unable to have the work done; and the magistrates of the city decided to render her special aid, "as she has so much to do."





VIEW OF OLD SLIP, 1902.
Looking down the ancient "Burgers Path" towards the River.

CHAPTER XVII

HANOVER SQUARE AND BURGER'S PATH.—BURGER JORISSEN, THE SMITH.—THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.—HENDRICK JANSEN, THE TAILOR, AND HIS OPINION OF DIRECTOR KIEFT.—SMITH STREET

“That frae November till October,
Ae market-day thou was nae sober;
That ilka melder wi’ the miller,
Thou sat as lang as thou had siller;
That ev’ry naig was ca’d a shoe on,
The smith and thee gat roaring fou on.”

BURNS: “Tam o’ Shanter.”

WE are at Hanover Square, — not a very stately locality, perhaps; but a place replete with historical associations, — of Burger Jorissen, rough and intemperate at times, but a vigorous pioneer of the new colony; of Hendrick Jansen, the virulent enemy of Director Kieft; of Govert Loockermans, the shipping merchant, a pioneer of the commerce of New Amsterdam, as enterprising in his way upon the sea as was Burger Jorissen upon the land. Half of the political history of the colony, during the reign of William III., centres about this spot, with its memories of Nicholas Bayard, of the judicially murdered Leisler and Milborne, and of the patient and long-suffering Elsie Leisler and her widowed daughter Mary Milborne. The tortuous policy of King William’s government with the piratical adventurers, too, should not be forgotten; and there are not wanting associations here to call up the names of the Earl of Bellomont and of Captain William Kidd. The Square might well have received the name of Orange, or of Nassau, as representative of King William’s times, but it was named at a somewhat later date,

when the elector of Hanover came to the throne. The Scotch Jacobites, at this time, with their bitter hatred of what they considered as the usurpation of a petty German prince, were singing :

“Wha the deil hae we gotten now for a king,
 But a wee, wee German lairdie!
 And when we gaed to bring him hame,
 He was delving in his kail-yardie;
 Sheughing kail and laying leeks,
 Wi’out the hose and but the breeks;
 And up his beggar duds he cleeks, —
 The wee, wee German lairdie.”

The Hanoverian party was in control, however, and the little triangular patch of ground in New York received the name of Hanover Square, in honor of King George I.

It is not, we have said, a very stately locality. The tall buildings of the Coffee and of the Cotton Exchanges look down upon an open space covered with smooth asphalt over which crowds stream in all directions, — mainly to and from the station of the elevated railway which mars its southern side; no sprig of green vegetation is in sight, and warehouses along the south side of Pearl Street cut off all view of the river.

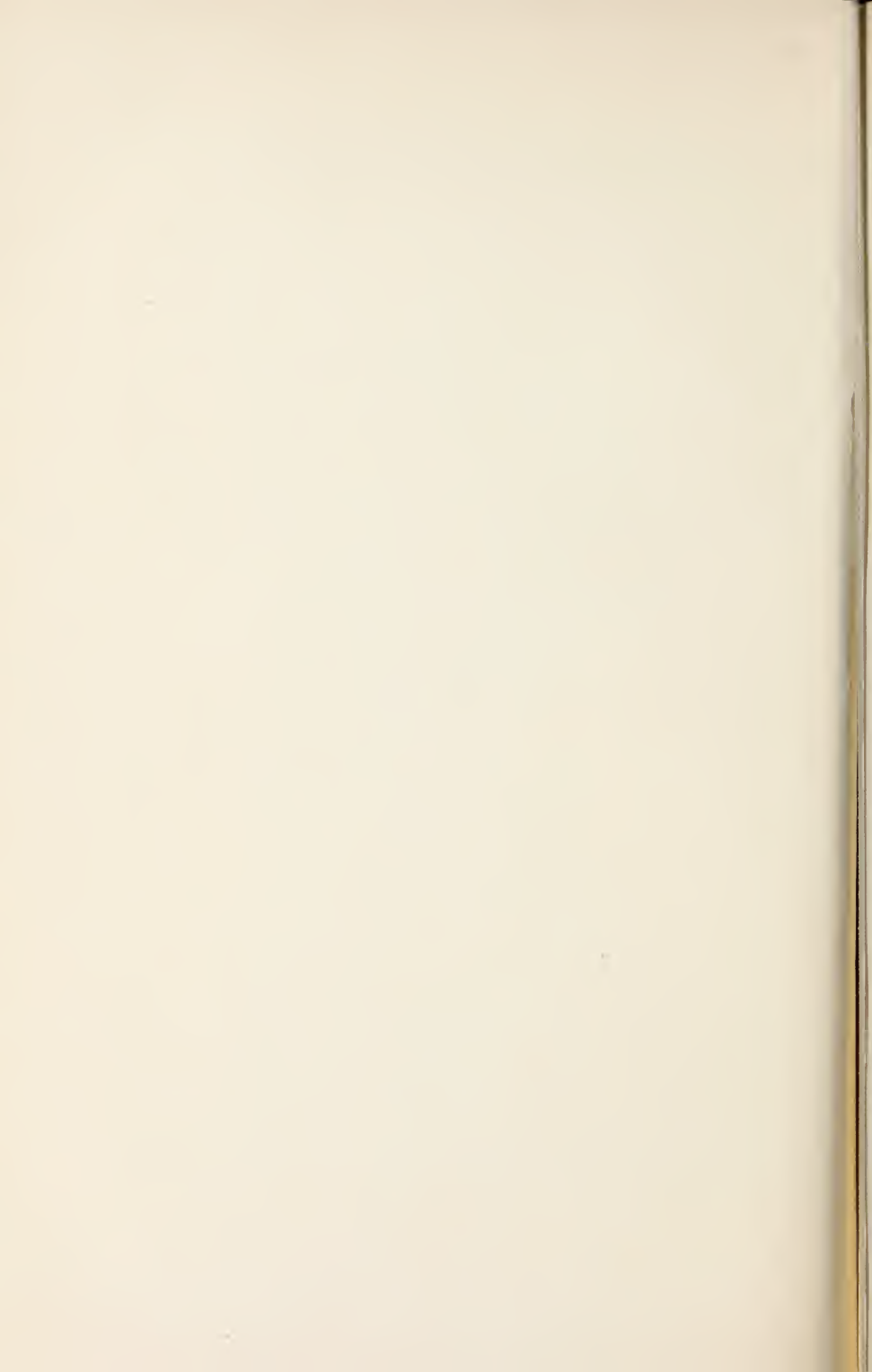
A very different scene presented itself in the seventeenth century, however. Then, from the narrow roadway along the north side of the “square,” all the intervening ground, to the river’s edge beyond the present Pearl Street, was a grassy bank shaded by native forest trees, under which strollers from the town sometimes whiled the time away, or visiting Indians camped. Immediately in front of the spot where now stands the building known as the Old Cotton Exchange, a gully or shallow ravine led down to the river beach; this had been deepened, for the purpose of making a passage or cart-way to the shore, by Burger Jorissen; insomuch that in 1646 the council made an order that he “must rail or fence the road which is made before his door, so that no persons may fall in; and that it be a good wagon road.”¹ This pas-

¹ The condition of this locality in 1679 is shown in the plate at page 188 of this work.



HANOVER SQUARE.

Looking towards the Old Cotton Exchange and Stone Street.



sageway was known as "Burger's Path" for more than a century. Nearly opposite it, upon the north side of Hoogh Straet, just about at the little bookstore in the rear portion of the building, now (1901) occupying the northwest corner of William and Stone streets, stood the house built about 1644 by Hendrick Jansen, the tailor, but soon sold to Burger Jorissen. Immediately east of this, at the present corner of the last-mentioned streets, but infringing somewhat upon Stone Street (which has been straightened), was the blacksmith's shop of Jorissen. William Street did not as yet exist, and its ground, with about half of the New Cotton Exchange upon the east of it, formed originally Burger Jorissen's garden, and possibly a small orchard, — for his plot contained about three-quarters of an acre of land. About a hundred and twenty-five feet farther down the road stood the comfortable residence of Govert Loockermans, in a large enclosure of ground sloping down to a small pond, and with green fields behind it; a small intermediate house stood along the road which seems to have been at an earlier date the dwelling-house of Direk Cornelissen, and to have passed into the possession of Loockermans upon his marriage to Direk Cornelissen's widow. A short distance, still farther, at a small turn in the road, stood two or three more houses, one of which was the old tavern of Sergeant Daniel Litscho, and these were the last buildings towards the city gate at the present Wall Street.

Burger Jorissen was, in all probability, a refugee of the Thirty Years' War. That terrible struggle, which desolated the Germanic countries from 1618 to 1648, undoubtedly played a part which has never been fully appreciated, in the colonization of New Netherland. It was a conflict which carried with it carnage and devastation and misery enough to satisfy fully the appetite for military "glory" of the most ferocious, the most ignorant, or the most foolhardy. Not the lines of marches alone, but whole provinces were ravaged indiscriminately by bands of marauders of both the contending parties. "No act of cruelty," say the deputies, from Pomerania, to the emperor, "could be mentioned, or even

thought of, that these savages had not exercised; and many hundreds of the wretched inhabitants, in order to prevent these horrible acts from being inflicted upon themselves, and to escape from dying through starvation, had committed suicide." The original causes of the war were soon lost sight of; and no man knew exactly what he was fighting for. Scores of leaders sprang up, made names for themselves, perished by the sword, and were forgotten. There came eventually a time when half of the soldiers in the armies had never lived in anything but a state of warfare, and when the military occupation was the only one that many men could turn to for their support. The most fortunate of the inhabitants were those who could escape from their country, and although this was not an easy matter, hosts of them did make their escape, mostly into the Netherlands, whence many sought their fortunes in the Dutch establishments in Asia and in America.

Burger Jorissen's home — the town of Hirschberg in Silesia — was in one of those quiet nooks of Germany which we are least likely to associate with war and bloodshed. Surrounded by gardens and by meadows and pastures, whitened here and there by the linen bleacheries for which it was famed, the town lay upon a mountain stream called the Bober River, and at the roots of the Riesen Gebirge, the Giants' Mountains of Bohemia, about which Geibel has sung, — of the sunshine pouring through the fir-trees, the deer rustling in the thickets, the streamlets tumbling over mossy rocks:

"Wie lieblich fließt durch grüne Tannen
Auf Böhmens Höh'n der Sonne Strahl!
Durch's Dickicht rauscht das Reh von dannen,
Durch Felsen blinkt der Quell ins Thal,
Und fern zu blauen Bergeswarten
Verliert sich träumend Aug' und Sinn."

The young blacksmith, Jorissen, — for that was his trade, — had attained the age of twenty years, when, in 1632, the tide of war swept over Silesia, it having been overrun in that year by the Swedes and Saxons, after the great victory of Gustavus

Adolphus at Leipzig. As most of the inhabitants of this part of Silesia were Lutherans, however, they probably suffered no great inconvenience at this time, but in the following year, after the death of Gustavus Adolphus at Lutzen, the Swedes were driven out by a division of Wallenstein's army, and the Silesians had little favor to expect from the enraged Roman Catholic party who now had the ascendancy. It is not at all improbable that it was at this period that Burger Jorissen quitted his native country. If so, nothing would have been more natural at this time than that he should have first taken refuge in Sweden, and this may account for the fact that as soon as he subsequently became settled in New Netherland, he married, in 1639, a young Swedish woman, Engeltie Mans.

However this may be, Burger Jorissen found his way to New Netherland in 1637, in which year he came to Rensselaerswyck, now Albany. He did not remain there long, however, for in 1639, the year of his marriage, he was at New Amsterdam, at which time he was so well thought of by Director-General Kieft that he granted to the young smith, for four years, "the use of an anvil and bellows, with half of the smith's house." It has been already stated¹ that, somewhere about 1641, Burger Jorissen built the house upon Hoogh Straet, which three years afterwards he sold to Cornelis Melyn, and which at the time of our survey was in the possession of the poet, Jacob Steendam. Burger Jorissen was evidently a thrifty man, and was soon in a position to engage in other pursuits than those of his handiwork. At an early date, he was the owner of a sloop with which he occasionally made a trading voyage up the Hudson River; in the capacity of a trader, however, his relations with the colonial authorities were not always harmonious, for in the fall of 1643, the Council placed him in an embarrassing position by forbidding him either to depart or to come ashore from his vessel, "till he has rendered a correct account and paid the duties." It may have been the possession of this vessel, with

¹ See *ante*, pages 104, 128.

its facilities for easy transportation, that induced Jorissen, before 1642, to begin the clearing of a plantation for himself, in a remote part of what was afterwards the town of Newtown upon Long Island, but which was at this time, with the exception of two or three widely scattered plantations, an unbroken wilderness.

Nearly a mile up the Mespat Kill of the Dutch, — the present Newtown Creek, — there comes in from the north through the salt meadows a tributary creek of considerable size, known to the Indians as Canapaukah, and this in earlier days was navigable for vessels of light draft for about a mile towards its head, and to a spot where it approached very near the upland. This was the place, in an amphitheatre of low hills, or rather knolls, looking towards the south, that Burger Jorissen selected for his plantation. In 1643, he received a grant of the land, some fifty-eight or sixty acres, from the Dutch government. The locality was known, until recent years, by the name of "The Dutch Kills;" and the site of Burger Jorissen's house is occupied, there is little room to doubt, by an ancient farmhouse of the eighteenth century, which may be seen upon the left-hand side, or north, of the Long Island railway, a half-mile or so beyond the Queens County Court House at Long Island City. The small morass below it is the remains of the mill-pond established here some years later by Burger Jorissen. In addition to this plantation, Jorissen seems to have made use for a time — no doubt by the permission of the Director and Council — of the island known afterwards as Luyster's Island, lying close to the Long Island shore, beyond Hell Gate, and a short distance west of the resort now known as North Beach. This island, as being a place of security, appears to have been used by him for the purpose of herding swine upon it, they being easily conveyed to and from it by his vessel, and being there comparatively free from danger of the attacks of wolves.

Burger Jorissen does not appear to have originally intended his Long Island bouwery for his own residence. It was leased out, as early as 1642, and when he sold his house upon Hoogh

Straet to Cornelis Melyn, in 1644, he immediately took possession of another residence upon the same street, the house near the present Hanover Square, of which we have spoken above, and which he purchased in the last-mentioned year from Hendrick Jansen, the tailor; this latter personage — characterized by a singularly virulent animosity against Director-General Kieft, which he displayed all through that officer's administration, and which nothing could restrain — deserves some particular mention. As early as 1639, Hendrick Jansen is found occupying a small parcel of land at the southwest angle of the river road and Maagde Paetje, or the modern Pearl Street and Maiden Lane, he being one of the very first settlers along the East River shore. Selling this property in the latter part of 1641, he appears to have soon acquired the land and built the house near the present Hanover Square which he afterwards sold to Burger Jorissen, though he did not get his formal deed for it until 1644, — very possibly on account of his difficulties with Director Kieft. Jansen's animosity to the Director-General, from whatever cause it originated, began early. On the 27th of May, 1638, within a month or two of the beginning of Kieft's administration, Jansen was prosecuted by the fiscal for slander: upon this occasion, we find that Hendrick displayed a sagacity which cannot fail to excite our admiration, for his defence was that he uttered the slander when asleep. He had to do, however, with an adversary who was little less astute than himself, and at the instance of the fiscal, the Council made an order "that the defendant produce proper affidavit that he was asleep when the slander was expressed." This proceeding, with its distinct flavor of modern comic opera, does not appear to have resulted in anything very serious, but in 1642, at a gathering at Burger Jorissen's house, at which Jansen was present, "very drunk," as the witnesses say, he was much more violent in his language, complaining of Kieft as being hostile to him, and refusing him any credit. "If I could cringe and fawn like Frenchmen and Englishmen," he said, "I too could get credit. In short, an effort is being made to crush the Netherlands, and foreigners are en-

couraged," then, snapping his fingers, "I don't care a fig for it! What does the villain mean?" Then followed, according to the witnesses, a highly uncomplimentary and also unprintable reflection upon the Director-General. This affair found its way to the ears of Kieft and the Council, and Hendrick Jansen was promptly ordered to be put in irons; he was kept in imprisonment for a month, and was then sentenced to banishment, but for some reason this was not carried out. Jansen was still in the country at the time of the Indian massacre in the beginning of the next year; and at a period when all tongues were employed in denouncing Kieft, we may be sure that Hendrick Jansen's was not silent. In June, 1643, he was ordered by the Council to "get ready to depart on the 'Prince Maurice,' which lies ready to sail," but he found means of evading this command. On the 29th of September, 1644, he was again before the Council, and was sentenced to a fine of 500 guilders for slandering the Director-General, for which amount his son-in-law, Gillis Pietersen, gave his promissory note.¹ It was perhaps in preparation for this outcome that thirteen days before, or on the 16th of September, 1644, Jansen had transferred to Burger Jorissen his "house, garden, and brew-house" for the sum of 1900 guilders, or about \$720 of the present currency; and these premises became the abode of Jorissen during the remainder of his residence in New Amsterdam. As for Hendrick Jansen, he remained in the colony till the summer of 1647, when he prepared to return with Kieft to the Netherlands, designing, perhaps (as there is little doubt that several others of Kieft's enemies did), to call the ex-director to account in the Fatherland for his arbitrary proceedings. Jansen seems to have been well thought of by his neighbors, and carried with him several letters of procuration to attend to various business for them in the Netherlands. He sailed in the "Princess," and is supposed to have been one of those who perished in the wreck of that ill-fated vessel.

Burger's "smithy," which he soon built near his new house

¹ This may possibly have been a compromise of the sentence of two years before, but it has the appearance of having been a new prosecution.

upon Hoogh Straet, became a well-known point, as Burger himself came to be a well-marked character in the town. The circumstances of his life had contributed to give him a somewhat rough exterior, but he seems to have been good-hearted and generally liked. The small "brew-house" which he had received from Hendrick Jansen, and the acquaintance with the brewer's processes, which he as well as many other men of his day possessed, was not an unmixed good to him. In 1646, he was prosecuted and fined for selling beer without paying the excise tax. He denied the general charge, but admitted that three half-barrels were drunk in his house "with some company." Somewhat sore over this affair, Burger threatened the fiscal, or prosecuting officer, that he would "cut a slice" out of that official's body, before he got away from the country. The aggrieved fiscal immediately instituted a prosecution of his own against Burger for these injurious words, whereupon the latter appeared before the Council and begged pardon of the officer. The fiscal was obdurate, however, and insisted that Burger should be fined: the matter was referred to certain arbitrators, who reported to the Council that they had met, but that Burger "made game of them." The Council itself now took the affair in hand and not only fined Burger 60 guilders, but upon his addressing that body in a manner which it considered derogatory to its dignity, it ordered him "to remain four and twenty hours in chains."

Nearly ten years later, Burger retained some of his old characteristics, for in 1655 he was prosecuted for assaulting, in his own house, when drunk, Joshua Atwater of Stratford, Connecticut, in a dispute about an account; this proceeding also Burger regarded as highly unjust to himself, since his witnesses showed that he had paid the difference in dispute, confessed his fault, "and separated with a drink in friendship and harmony."

Burger Jorissen continued his active life at New Amsterdam and its vicinity for many years. Before 1654, he had thrown a dam across the Canapaukah Creek near his bouwery upon Long Island, and established a mill there, which was

famous long after his day under the appellation of "Burger's Mill." This mill was in existence less than a century ago, and the mill-dam remained till about 1861, when it is said to have been demolished by the building of the Long Island railway over its site. Jorissen became a noted character in the locality of his bouwery; the creek up which his boat used to sail to the foot of the mill-dam is still occasionally known as "Burger's Kill;" and a small run of water which he widened and deepened through the swampy land lying east of the mill-pond, to increase the water supply for his mill, was long known as "Burger's Sluice." This until within a comparatively few years presented itself as a veritable artist's study, with its banks lined with alders and overarched by swamp maples and whitewoods, with their swinging vines of the wild grape. It is now merely a bare and half dry ditch.

About the year 1654, the opening of several additional streets in New Amsterdam was planned, one of which, it was pretty well decided, was to pass through Burger Jorissen's garden; he therefore determined to sell the house in which he had now resided for about ten years, and to build a new house for himself upon the east side of his land. The old house, with a long narrow strip of land extending back about to the present Beaver Street, was sold in the summer of 1655 to one Marcus Hendricksen Vogelsang, who, however, only kept it till the next year, when it came into the possession of Michiel Jansen, a farmer whose plantation at Gamoenepa, or Communipaw, had recently been devastated by the Indians, at which time, as he states in a petition to the Director and Council, "he lost all he had acquired for seventeen years, and was left without means whatever to support himself and six children."¹ Jansen lived here a short time, but afterwards returned to his bouwery at Gamoenepa.

¹ This Michiel Jansen, from Broeckhuysen, came over from the Netherlands, in 1636. According to the railing catalogue of Secretary van Tienhoven, he had been a "boere knecht," or farm laborer. He first went to Rensselaerswyck with his wife and two children. Here he prospered; but on account of some disagreement with the leaders of that colony, he left and came to New Amsterdam. For a while he farmed several parcels of land upon Manhattan

By the end of 1656, the new street had been laid out: it seems to have received its name of Smith's Street from the blacksmith whose land it ran through;¹ and it continued to be known by that name until far into the next century, when the name of King William, which had been given to an extension of this street, was gradually applied to the whole, which came to be thus known as William Street. About 1660, Burger Jorissen sold off in small parcels all of his land remaining upon the west side of William Street. His later house, the site of which is covered by the New Cotton Exchange, was at the eastern corner of William and Stone streets, and here he resided during the remainder of his stay in New Amsterdam.² He left the town, however, soon after the surrender to the English in 1664, and took up his residence upon his Long Island bouwery, selling his house in New Amsterdam to Thomas Lewis, in the year 1668. During the short remainder of his life upon Long Island, he

Island, but eventually bought the farm of Jan Evertsen Bout, on the opposite side of the North River, paying for it 8000 guilders, or about \$3200 of the present currency. He appears to have died at his plantation in Communipaw some time prior to the autumn of 1663.

¹ This appears to be a much more satisfactory explanation of the name of the street than that it received its designation from Jan Smedes, the glass-maker who lived towards the termination of the Slyck Steegh near where the new street was laid out. He had not been a man of much prominence in the town, and had nothing in particular to do with the laying out of the street, so far as can be discovered. A petition which was made to the burgomasters on the 19th of April, 1657, by "the neighbors in the Glazier Street," for "a cartway to the Strand, as was promised them," has been taken to refer to the newly opened street, and consequently as supporting the notion that the name was derived from Jan Smedes. As, however, not only this individual, but also the other principal glass-maker of the town, Evert Duyckingh, resided in the Slyck Steegh, it is much more likely that this is the "Glazier Street" referred to, and that the petition is either a protest against the closing of the easterly portion of the Slyck Steegh (which was afterwards carried out), or else that it related to the passageway into Hoogh Straet, which still exists under the name of Mill Street or Lane, and the lane or passageway nearly opposite, which is now closed, but which then led from Hoogh Straet down to the shore of the river.

² In the early portion of the eighteenth century, this house became of interest as being the residence and place of business of William Bradford, the first established printer in New York; here, in 1725, is supposed to have been issued the first number of the "New York Gazette," the pioneer newspaper of the city.

became a man of considerable prominence, and was one of the patentees named in the Nicoll Patent of the town of Newtown in 1666-67, and one of several commissioners appointed in 1670 to lay out and regulate roads in that town. He died in 1671 at his farm at "The Dutch Kills," leaving a family of several adult sons. His widow, Engeltie, however, — apparently desirous of returning to the scenes of her earlier life, — purchased, some time before 1683, the old house of Richard Smith, upon Hoogh Straet, of which prior mention has been made.¹ Here she resided for many years, with her sons Hermanus and Johannes Burger, — for Burger henceforth became the family name: all three of them appear as members of the Dutch church, in the list of 1686. Engeltie appears to have been a vigorous old lady of somewhat masculine disposition. She was frequently, as witness or litigant, before the court at the Stadt Huys, where she was much dreaded on account of her loquacity, the magistrates being forced to protest against her upon their minutes, as being addicted to "an outpouring of many words." She attained a great age, but, as she states, in an affidavit which she made in the year 1701 before the Mayor, that she is "aged seventy years, or thereabouts," — which would have made her about eight years of age at the time of her marriage to Burger Jorissen, in 1639, — the inference may perhaps arise that her memory in her later years was not as good as it had formerly been.

¹ See *ante*, pages 220, 221.

CHAPTER XVIII

GOVERT LOOCKERMANS AND HIS FAMILY. — *ELSIE LEISLER.*
— *THE LOOCKERMANS' HOUSE AND ITS ASSOCIATIONS.*
— *CAPTAIN KIDD*

' Le temps emporte sur son aile
Et le printemps et l'hirondelle,
Et la vie et les jours perdus :
Tout s'en va comme la fumée,
L'espérance et la renommée ! "

A. DE MUSSET.

IF any person endowed with the gift of an insight into the future had predicted to Govert Loockermans, the young assistant of the cook on the yacht "St. Martin," upon his arrival in New Amsterdam, in the year 1633, that he was to become the leading merchant of his day in a town which two centuries and a half later was to occupy the position of the second city of the world; that in the next generation his son should be a magistrate and physician of note in a then flourishing but as yet non-existent community, two hundred miles away from New Amsterdam through trackless forests; that his step-daughter's husband should take entire possession of the government of the New Netherland Colony, claiming to hold the same for the King of England, which king should at the same time be the Stadtholder of the United Netherlands and the head of the historic Nassau-Orange family; that this same husband of his step-daughter, together with *her* daughter's husband, should suffer the penalty of death for treason in a prosecution principally urged by the members of a family into which his (Loockermans) own daughter should have married; that the house which he should build

for his residence in New Amsterdam should after his death be the home of a man who (whether justly or unjustly) should suffer as the most notorious pirate of his age, but that this same man should represent an association of which no less a personage than the aforesaid King of England was one of the parties,—if all this had been told to Govert Loockermans, he would probably have regarded it as the ravings of delirium.

The original home of Govert Loockermans was at Turnhout, a town about twenty-five miles northeast of Antwerp, and not within the United Provinces, but in that portion of the Netherlands which remained under the Spanish and afterwards under the Austrian rule. Coming to New Netherland in 1633 in a humble capacity, as already mentioned,¹ he acquired the favorable opinion of Director-General Van Twiller, who procured him a situation as clerk in the employ of the West India Company: how long he remained in the service of the company we do not know, but he is said to have been one of the party sent out by Director-General Kieft, in 1640, under Secretary Van Tienhoven, against the Raritan Indians,—upon which occasion, says Clute, in his “Annals of Staten Island,” he distinguished himself by killing one of the natives in cold blood.

This story, however, may be a mere invention of Loockermans’ enemies, for it is known that a little later he was accused of undue partiality towards the Indians, with whom, as a fur trader, he must necessarily have had to keep on good terms. In 1648, one Govert Aertsen, owner of a sloop making occasional voyages to New England, made the extraordinary application, to the Council at New Amsterdam, for a formal certificate that his name was not Govert Loockermans. It appeared that he had recently been with his sloop at Rhode Island, and there some of the inhabitants became convinced that he was Govert Loockermans, against whom they were at that time highly incensed for having sold powder and

¹ It is Secretary Van Tienhoven who, in his sneering way of speaking of the principal men of New Amsterdam, calls him “a cook’s mate turned trader.”

lead to the New England Indians. Despite his protestations, Aertsen came very near being thrown into prison there, a clamor having been made for the confiscation of the vessel. It is this incident, in part, that leads to the conjecture that Govert Loockermans' patronymic was really Aertsen, or Aersen, though (as in many other instances) the patronymic was not generally used by him. The term "Loockerman" is so clearly suggestive of the ship's locker that that designation would seem to have been originally applied to him from his early avocation, and to have been in the end accepted by him for convenience' sake. This conjecture certainly tends to explain (as will be afterwards mentioned) what is otherwise a matter of considerable uncertainty; namely, the manner in which Loockermans acquired the plot upon which he resided, at the present Hanover Square.

About the latter part of 1640, Govert Loockermans revisited the Netherlands, where he remained some months, and where, at Amsterdam, in the early part of the year 1641, he married Ariaentje Janse. A short time later, accompanied by his wife, he sailed for New Amsterdam in the ship "King David," having under his charge, as agent for the firm of Gillis Verbrugge and Company, a cargo of goods for New Netherland. With him came, in all probability, his sister Anneken, who, in the early part of 1642, was married at New Amsterdam to Oloff Stevensen van Cortlandt, of whom mention has already been made.¹

Govert Loockermans now soon became engaged in important trading operations upon his own account. In 1642, he bought, in conjunction with one Cornelis Leendertsen, from Isaac Allerton, the leading New England trader, for the sum of 1100 guilders, the bark called the "Hope;" and from this time, for a long period, he was closely connected in business enterprises with Allerton. The two acquired

¹ See *ante*, page 76. This lady, the ancestress of the American family of Van Cortlandt, lived long in high esteem at New Amsterdam. She survived her husband, and the poetical epitaph composed, upon her own death, by her pastor, the Reverend Henricus Selyns, is still extant.

jointly, in 1643, a parcel of ground upon the east side of the present Broadway, about two hundred and seventy-five feet north of Beaver Street, — a large plot, of about one hundred feet front, and extending some two hundred and fifty feet down the hill towards the Broad Street swamp. What this property was used or designed for, whether for warehouse purposes or for speculation, or whether it was held to cover some indebtedness to these associates, does not appear. It is a curious fact that although Govert Loockermans was for many years engaged in mercantile ventures, we nowhere meet with any allusions to a warehouse owned by him; this may, indeed, have been located at his residence near the East River shore, the large size of the building rendering this quite probable, or it is possible that he may have made use of Allerton's large building at the present Pearl Street and Peck Slip.

Loockermans was a bold and enterprising trader, careless of whose corns he trod upon, — metaphorically speaking, — in his pursuit of gain: ready, apparently, at any time to furnish the Indians with firearms, powder, and balls, in exchange for their furs; and declining to permit any interference in his business by persons of adverse interest. In 1644, he had been up the Hudson, upon a trading voyage to the north, in the yacht, the "Good Hope," and on his return, when passing Bear's Island, below Albany, where the patroon Van Rensselaer had erected a small fortification which was guarded by one Nicholas Koorn, that individual, according to the story of several of the men of Loockermans' crew, "cried out to Govert Loockermans, when we were passing by: 'Lower thy colors.' 'For whom should I do so?' retorted Loockermans. Then Koorn replied: 'For the staple right of Rensselaerswyck.' Then Govert Loockermans answered, 'I lower not the colors for any individual except for the Prince of Orange and the lords, my masters;' — when directly Nicholas Koorn fired a gun. The first shot went through the sail, broke the ropes and the ladder; a second discharge passed over us; and the third, done by a savage, perforated

our princely colors about a foot above the head of Loockermans, who kept constantly the colors in his hand; but we continued our course, notwithstanding this insulting assault, without returning the fire, or making any other reprisals whatever, and descended gently the river." Other witnesses, however, testified that Govert's demeanor was not quite so lamb-like, but that he cried out to Koorn and his men: "Fire, ye dogs; and the devil take you!"

Loockermans' voyages extended all along the coast, from New England to Virginia, and at several places he acquired, at different times, large tracts of wild lands, as, for example, in Maryland, and at various points upon Long Island. On Manhattan Island he held also a number of parcels of ground, — notably, almost all the land lying between the present Ann Street and the Versche Water, or Fresh Water, — the little run of water forming one of the outlets of the Kolek pond, and emptying into the East River near the present James Street. Most of Loockermans' transactions in New Amsterdam real estate are very difficult to trace, however, from a peculiarity he seems to have had of avoiding, as far as possible, the registry of his "ground-briefs," and much is discoverable only through allusions and recitals in other documents.

For this reason, we cannot tell exactly when Loockermans acquired the large parcel of ground upon the present Hanover Square, where he resided for a great part of his life. It, or a portion of it, is recited to have been granted by the Dutch government in 1643, but whether to Loockermans or to some other person does not appear. There is evidence, however, that the westerly portion of the land, embracing about one hundred and fifteen feet in frontage, and extending along Hanover Square nearly to the easterly line of the present Coffee Exchange, was originally granted either to Cornelis Leendertsen, Loockermans' business associate (who died prior to 1646), or to Dirck Cornelissen, who appears to have been his son. The latter married, in 1646, Marritje Janse, widow of the ship-carpenter, Tymen Jansen, but died within two

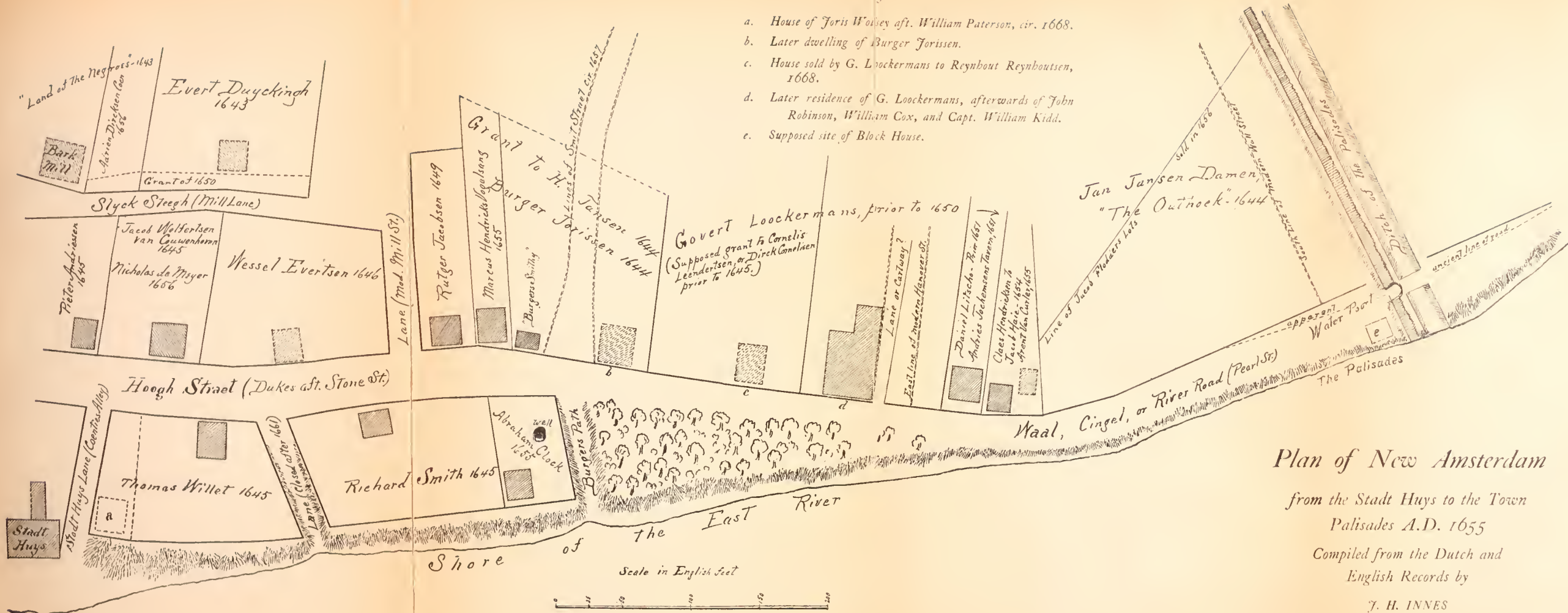
or three years; his widow marrying Govert Loockermans in 1649, this property passed to the latter, in right of his wife. Dirck Cornelissen's house, which appears to have stood about on the western end of the present Coffee Exchange, was sold in 1667 or 1668 to Reynhout Reynhoutsen by Loockermans.

As to the easterly portion of Loockermans' land, which covered originally about one hundred and thirty feet front, unless he is the person (as it seems quite probable that he is) referred to as Govert Aertsen in a deed of 1645 from Dirck Volckertsen, we have no information as to how he acquired the land. The description given in that deed is as follows: "A house and lot, where Dirck Cornelissen next adjoins on the west side, and Jan Damen," — the so-called outhoek, — "on the east." No disposition of this parcel by Govert Aertsen can be found, and within two or three years from the last-mentioned date Loockermans is known to have been in possession of it.

In whatever manner he had acquired it, however, we find Govert Loockermans, as early as 1649, in possession of this large parcel of ground, — nearly three hundred feet in frontage along the River Road, and part of it extending back nearly or quite to the present Wall Street. Here he seems to have at first established his residence in a house afterwards occupied by Daniel Litscho and subsequently by Andries Jochemsen as a tavern, the site of which is at present covered by No. 125 Pearl Street; but in a few years he had built a new residence for himself on a portion of his ground a little farther west along the road. This latter building appears to have been a substantial edifice, of some size and pretensions, and is quite clearly shown upon the "Duke's Plan," supposed to represent the town as of the year 1661. As early as 1654 it was enclosed with a high wall, provided with a gate kept locked and barred by night: these particulars we learn from the prosecution of one Willemsen for burglary at this house in that year, as it was thought that he must have had confederates to help him climb the wall.

References:

- a. *House of Joris Wousey aft. William Paterson, cir. 1668.*
- b. *Later dwelling of Burger Jorissen.*
- c. *House sold by G. Loockermans to Reynbout Reynboutsen, 1668.*
- d. *Later residence of G. Loockermans, afterwards of John Robinson, William Cox, and Capt. William Kidd.*
- e. *Supposed site of Block House.*



Plan of New Amsterdam

from the Stadt Huys to the Town

Palisades A.D. 1655

*Compiled from the Dutch and
English Records by*

J. H. INNES



It is the fact that Loockermans' house was thus protected, that leads to the conjecture that a portion of it may have been used as his warehouse. The site of this house is now occupied by the two unpretending buildings extending from the Coffee Exchange to the corner of the modern Hanover Street, and numbered 119 and 121 Pearl Street.

There can be little doubt that this was the same building shown as occupying this spot in a plan made in the year 1719. This building was, as has been said, of large, and, in fact, of unusually large, dimensions. It was of about thirty-eight feet in front by forty-eight feet in depth; and a kitchen extension of about twenty feet square upon its east side gives suggestions of quarters for the domestic slaves,¹ as the size of the main building does of its partial use for warehouse purposes. Along the east side of the building ran, in the year last above mentioned, a narrow cartway, now forming a part of what is known as Hanover Street; and nearly a hundred feet in the rear of the house, upon the back lane called "the Slood," or ditch, stood a capacious stable, or coach-house, some twenty by forty feet in size. It is quite likely, however, that this last structure was built after Loockermans' time.

Govert Loockermans' first wife had died before 1649, leaving him with two little daughters, Marritje and Jannetje, who were respectively about eight and six years of age at the period mentioned. Upon the 20th of July of that year he married, for his second wife, the widow, Marritje Janse. This lady had been the wife of Tymen Jansen, a ship carpenter in the employ of the West India Company, to whose house upon the present Pearl Street just north of Wall, we shall have occasion to allude hereafter. Tymen Jansen had been for several years from 1633 the principal shipwright

¹ In her will, made in 1677, Loockermans' widow Marritje provides for two of the slave "boys," Manuel and Francis. The former was to be freed at the age of twenty-five: as to the latter, she requires that her children "shall maintain him with dyett and clothing, and good discipline; not willing, neither desiring that they should sell him alien and transport, neither to deliver him to the service of a stranger." Lib. 1, Wills, N. Y. Surr. Office.

of the Company, at New Amsterdam, and had constructed many vessels here: he had died some years before 1649, however, leaving his widow with a daughter Elsie, known according to the system of nomenclature in use among the Netherlanders as Elsie Tymense, and who was about fifteen or sixteen years of age at the time of her mother's marriage to Govert Loockermans. Previous to this time, and in the year 1646, Marritje Janse had married Dirck Cornelissen of Wensveen, whose house and land upon the present Hanover Square has just been referred to. Cornelissen died a year or two after his marriage, leaving a son called Cornelis Dirksen, an infant of about two years of age at the time of his mother's marriage to Loockermans. By his wife Marritje, Govert Loockermans had one child, Jacob, born in 1652, who in later years, following the English nomenclature, which was gradually adopted by the Dutch after the surrender to the English in 1664, was known as Jacob Loockermans. The above-named persons constituted the family of Govert Loockermans; and out of their somewhat complicated relationship grew, apparently, certain important consequences in after years.

Elsie Tymense did not remain many years in her stepfather's house on the East River shore, for in the early part of 1652 she married a well-to-do merchant, Pieter Cornelissen Vanderveen, from Amsterdam, and resided for a number of years in her husband's house, near the southwest corner of the present Pearl and Whitehall streets, where she was long a close neighbor of Director-General Stuyvesant and his family. Vanderveen having died about the year 1661, Elsie married Jacob Leisler, of Frankfurt,¹ two years later, and he, who had come to New Amsterdam in the military service of the West India Company, — Mr. Valentine calls him an "officer," — now assumed the charge of her late husband's business, and soon became, himself, a leading merchant of the town.

At his house upon the East River shore, Govert Loocker-

¹ Whether it was the city of that name upon the Mayn River, or that upon the Oder, does not appear.

mans lived an active life for many years. He does not seem to have cared to mingle much in the politics of his day, though in 1647 he was one of the committee called "the Nine Men," chosen by the people, and who afterwards laid the grievances of the colonists before the authorities in the Netherlands. In 1657 he also served one year as one of the city magistrates, or "schepens," and at the same time he also held the office of head or foreman of the fire company. He took an interest besides in the affairs of the city militia company, in which he was a lieutenant at the time of his death, under Captain Martin Cregier.

It has been already stated that the Loockermans' house stood within somewhat spacious grounds; about one hundred and fifty feet in its rear there was a wet depression, where there seems to have been at one time a small pond; here a drain ditch was afterwards constructed, and this ditch, or "sloot," gave its name to a narrow lane which was in existence here before the year 1728, and was long known as "Sloat Lane." It is now covered by the extension of Beaver Street. Besides thus caring for his rear grounds, Loockermans had an eye to his fine river frontage. At an early day, he had built, at his own expense, a wall or piling all along the shore in front of his premises, in order to protect the bank. Towards the western end of his land and near Burger's Path, there was considerable ground lying between the road and the shore, and Loockermans made a petition to the Director-General and Council in 1656 for a grant of this ground "on which in future some building might be erected to the damage of petitioner." The ground was granted to him accordingly, with the reservation to the West India Company of the right to build a breastwork along the piling. As has been previously stated, a good portion of it, covering the present Hanover Square, was overgrown with forest trees; these were certainly in existence as late as 1679, for they are shown upon the very valuable sketch of the Labadists, Danker and Sluyter, in that year.¹ Within

¹ This wooded bank, although a very conspicuous feature in any view of the East River shore of New Amsterdam, does not appear in that group of views

ten years from that period, however, the trees had probably all disappeared, and about the year 1690 the "Square" began to be built upon. A row of three or four houses of small size soon occupied the larger part of the ground, and this was used for building purposes until the early part of the last century, when the then existing buildings were destroyed, and the land thrown into the public thoroughfares about it.

Govert Loockermans died in the year 1671. Before that time, his two daughters had been married, — the eldest, Marritje, to Balthazar Bayard, a nephew of Director-General Stuyvesant, in 1664; and Jannetje to Hans, the son of Dr. Hans Kiersted, in 1667. Govert's son, Jacob, who was about nineteen years of age at his father's death, continued to reside for some years with his mother at the homestead, but after her death, in 1677, he took up his residence in the Province of Maryland, succeeding to the estates of his father there. He had pursued the study of medicine, and was a practising "chyrurgeon" in that colony, residing, according to Valentine, at St. Mary's, in the southern part of the State. He appears, however, afterwards as a magistrate of Dorchester County, upon the eastern shore of Chesapeake Bay.

There are not wanting indications of a lack of harmony in the Loockermans family at an early date. When Govert Loockermans died intestate, in 1671, under the English law of descent his son Jacob became the heir to his father's considerable landed estate; Jacob's half-brother, Cornelis Dirksen,

which, under various names, such as the "Allaerdt" and the "Seutter" views, etc. (from the names of the publishers in whose works they are to be found), represent substantially one and the same sketch, and that taken at a period some years earlier than the one of the Labadists, — probably at some time between 1667 and 1669. The reason for this is quite obvious. If the grove had been represented in true perspective, it would have concealed from sight a number of houses which the artists desired to make appear in their views of the town. The Labadists resorted to the expedient of dwarfing the grove, while the other draughtsman omitted it altogether from his view, afterwards supplying the houses from some sketch taken from another point, with the result of lamentably distorting the perspective of the whole view, and rendering it unquestionably and grossly inaccurate. It is composed indeed, in all probability, of several distinct sections thus patched together.

died young,¹ and he also inherited an estate from him. Jacob appears to have been much more under the influence of Elsie Leisler, his half-sister upon his mother's side, than under that of his half-sisters upon his father's side; and in 1679, he being then, as stated, a resident of Maryland, he conveyed to Elsie's husband, Jacob Leisler, all his right to the estate in the Province of New York of Govert Loockermans, his father, as well as his right to all that which had come to him through his mother — or rather through his half-brother, Cornelis Dirksen — from her former husband, Dirck Cornelissen. Nearly the whole estate of Govert Loockermans and of his wife had thus come into the hands of his step-daughter Elsie.²

It is foreign to the purposes of this work to treat at much length of the occurrences which led to the condemnation and execution for treason, on the 16th of May, 1691, of Jacob Leisler, and of his son-in-law, Jacob Milborne.³ It may be sufficient to recall to mind the fact that upon hearing of the Revolution of 1689 in England, which had driven James II. from the throne and replaced him by his daughter Mary and by her royal consort William, Prince of Orange, Governor Dongan of New York abandoned his government of the colony and sailed for England. The question of the day then became, who was to take charge of the affairs of the colony? At this early period the principles came into play which after-

¹ Cornelis Dirksen died in the early part of the year 1678, very soon after the death of his mother.

² It is true that in several conveyances of portions of the Govert Loockermans' estate, made within a few years after his death, the two daughters join as parties; but it seems evident that this was done either by reason of some agreement for the purpose of quieting dissension, or else to satisfy purchasers who had raised objections growing out of the obscure or ambiguous clause in the Articles of Surrender in 1664, that the Dutch "shall enjoy their owne customes concerning their inheritances." In later conveyances, we find no attention paid to the daughters. It may be further mentioned, in this connection, that while Govert Loockermans' widow, Marritje, in her will, executed in 1677, bequeaths various articles of jewelry and other keepsakes to her own children and grandchildren, no mention whatever is made of her two step-daughters.

³ A lucid account of this matter will be found in Chapter XV. of Mr. D. T. Valentine's "History of New York."

wards formed the foundation of the controversy which terminated in the American Revolution. On the one hand was the party of Legality, whose doctrine was that the colonies, being simple dependencies of the Crown of England, with their local administrations fixed by the Central Government at London, those administrations ought to continue until they were changed by that Central Government, and that consequently, in the present case, the control of affairs, in the absence of instructions from England, ought to remain with the Lieutenant-Governor, Francis Nicholson, and the former Council. Prominent among the men of this party were Colonel Nicholas Bayard, the brother-in-law of Marritje Loockermans, and Stephanus van Cortlandt, her cousin, the son of Govert Loockermans' sister Anneken.

The other party was the party of Expediency; they considered that the management of their own affairs ought to belong to the people of the colony. They were not prepared as yet to assert that they "are and of right ought to be" free and independent, but they determined to take possession of what they considered the vacant government. They contrived to oust their opponents, and by means of a self-appointed "Committee of Safety," usually resorted to in similar cases, they conferred the chief power upon their leading man, Jacob Leisler. The legality of this action was of course denied by the opposite party, and in asserting and maintaining his authority, Leisler acted with but little discretion. In spite of the frail nature of his power, he affected to consider his opponents as rebels and traitors, drove the leaders among them from the colony, and confiscated the estates of several of them, and upon their subsequent return to New York he threw Bayard into prison, where he remained for over a year; while Stephanus van Cortlandt succeeded in making his escape from the officers armed with a warrant for his arrest for high treason.

When, finally, in March, 1691, the new governor, Colonel Henry Sloughter, arrived from England, Leisler succeeded, by his punctilios about delivering over the government into the

hands of Slougher, in creating a hostile feeling in the members of the new administration; they immediately inclined towards the party of Leisler's opponents, and his arrest, trial, condemnation, and execution for treason followed, together with the similar process in the case of his son-in-law, Jacob Milborne.

The malignant haste, however, with which these prosecutions were urged, and the precipitation with which the sentences were carried out, takes away all merit from the proceedings, and leaves them mere judicial murders. As Leisler's seizure of power—technically illegal, no doubt—was unquestionably made for and in behalf of the reigning sovereigns William and Mary, every one concerned in the prosecution of the prisoners knew perfectly well that William and Mary would never have permitted them to be punished as traitors if the case had reached them in any proper way. However exasperating Leisler's acts had been to his enemies, there were other remedies to redress such wrongs as they had suffered; their evident malice deprived them of any sympathy from the great body of the people, by whom they were looked upon in no other light than as murderers, while their victims were glorified as heroes and martyrs.

As for Elsie Leisler and her children, the blow fell upon them with crushing force. Four years afterwards the English Parliament reversed the attainder for treason of Leisler and Milborne, and restored their confiscated property to their heirs; but most of the joy of life had departed for Elsie Leisler. Always she could see before her that dark May morning, with the rain pouring down upon the scaffold and the angry or pitying crowd around it, and could hear the words of her son-in-law: "We are thoroughly wet with rain, but in a little time we shall be washed with the Holy Spirit," or those of her husband, as the handkerchief was bound about his head: "I hope my eyes shall see our Lord Jesus Christ in heaven; I am ready! I am ready!"

"Her family misfortunes," says Valentine, speaking of Mrs. Leisler, "surrounded her with sympathetic neighbors,

but she maintained a reserved and humble deportment, mixing but little with the world, and confining herself to her own domestic sphere." That her troubles had endeared her to her children is well attested, across two centuries of time, by so prosaic an evidence as the time-stained records in the New York Register's office, wherein, on the 19th of July, 1699, Jacob Leisler, the younger, appoints as his attorney-in-fact, "his dear and affectionate mother, Elsie Leisler, widdow."¹

The Loockermans' homestead upon the present Hanover Square had passed out of the hands of that family some years before the struggle between the Leislerian and the anti-Leislerian factions took place. Although somewhat outside of the plan of our survey, it may be of some interest to follow the subsequent history of this property for a short period. What remained of it, — for several parcels had been previously sold off from time to time — came, within a short time after the death, in 1677 or 1678, of Marritje, the widow of Govert Loockermans, into the hands of one John Robinson, who purchased the family residence. This man was a merchant of New York, who was interested in the export of flour, and who, at the time he acquired the Loockermans' homestead, was engaged in the construction of a flour-mill upon the small stream known as the Sawkill, which emptied into the East River about at the foot of the present Seventy-fourth Street, along which stream he had a farm of nearly forty acres carved out of the forest.² There he became in

¹ See Liber XXII. of Conveyances, page 323.

² Mr. D. T. Valentine, having read in the "Journal" of Rev. Charles Woolley, who visited New York about 1679, an account of a bear having been "treed" in or near an orchard belonging to John Robinson (with whom Woolley was connected either by relationship or by business interests), — and apparently not having observed that John Robinson's farm lay in the midst of the then unbroken forest along the East River shore, where the presence of a bear at that time was no great marvel, — has calmly proceeded in some of his historical writings to transfer the bear hunt to the immediate vicinity of the house and small parcel of land belonging to Robinson near the present Hanover Square. Mr. Valentine has not only conducted his bear through three or four miles of open farming country into the heart of a good-sized town, and led the animal over the town ditch and

some way connected in business dealings with William Cox to whom on February 12, 1684, he sold a half-interest in his mill and farm.

William Cox was in some respects a singular character, about whose history not very much is known. He seems to have been a young man with considerable means, who had apparently been in New York for some little time prior to 1683, for in that year he was an alderman of the city. With him, in the city, resided his mother, whom he, as well as she herself, calls by the curious appellation of "Alice Cox, alias Bono."¹ As to his business, he called himself sometimes a merchant, and at other times a "bolter," from his milling operations.

In 1685, William Cox married a young woman who was destined to figure more prominently in the affairs of the day than she could have desired. She was Sarah, the daughter of Captain Thomas Bradley, who with her father and her young brothers Samuel and Henry had come over from England and taken up their residence in New York. She is said to have been handsome and dashing, but was rather illiterate, for in various documents executed by her in her earlier years she makes her mark in the signature, — though not so in after years.

On the 21st of January, 1688 (N. S.), William Cox bought from John Robinson his house and ground previously spoken of upon the present Hanover Square, being the former Loockermans' homestead; Cox himself may never have resided in this house, for in about a year from this time we find him purchasing another house upon the north side of Wall Street, which street was then beginning to be built up with a better palisades into a non-existent orchard, but, what is worse, he has afforded an opportunity to some of the writers who have followed him, for some very painfully elaborated attempts at witticisms respecting Mr. Valentine's bear and the "bears" of the supposed neighboring Wall Street.

¹ By the will of this lady, bearing date June 13, 1694, she bequeaths to her "dearly beloved brother, Mr. Robert Blackburne, dry-fish monger in London," the sum of £100. The rest of her estate she gives to John Theobalds, one of her executors, "to dispose of the same to his children, or to whomsoever he pleaseth." (See Will, N. Y. Surrogate's office.)

class of houses than had previously been found there, and in this latter dwelling he unquestionably resided during the short remainder of his life.

It was in the summer of the year 1689 that the community was in a ferment over the action of Jacob Leisler and his party in seizing upon the government of the colony; William Cox became a prominent supporter of Leisler, was one of the so-called "Committee of Safety" of the Leislerians, and lost his life about August, 1689, while engaged upon the business of his chief. The account of this affair is given with considerable flippancy by John Tudor, Cox's political enemy (afterwards recorder of the city), in a letter, dated August —, 1689, to Captain Nicholson, the ousted Lieutenant-Governor: —

"Mr. Cox, to show his fine cloaths, undertooke to goe to Amboy to proclaime the King, who coming whome againe, was fairely drowned, which accident startled our commanders here very much: there is a good rich widdow left. The manner of his being drowned was comeing on board in a cannow from Captⁿ Cornelis' Point at Staten Islands, goeing into the boate, slipt downe betwixt the cannow and the boate, the water not being above his chinn, but very muddy, stuck fast in, and striving to get out, bobbing his head under, receaved to much water in. They brought him ashore with life in him, but all would not fetch him againe."

The "good rich widdow" did not remain a widow long, for in a very short time she married John Oort, who is sometimes spoken of as a merchant, and at others as a ship captain, but his married life was of short duration. The fact is, that among this little coterie of English merchants and captains and their families, events succeeded one another with bewildering rapidity. On the 15th of July, 1689, William Cox, then apparently in full health and vigor, executed his last will and testament, and on the 9th of August following, after the unfortunate occurrence whereby he had "receaved to much water in," his will was admitted to probate. By

the 15th of May, 1691, Sarah Oort had about finished her mourning for both her deceased husbands, for upon that day she took out letters of administration upon the estate of the late John Oort; while upon the next day, the 16th of May, a license was issued, under the forms of the colonial law, for her marriage to Captain William Kidd.

The newly married couple resided for several years in the house which Mrs. Kidd's first husband, William Cox, had purchased, upon the present Pearl Street. This house had passed to Cox's widow by virtue of a very curious provision in the will of her husband. In the first part of this document Cox appears to have designed the house in question for his wife's brother: "I give to Samuel Bradley, my brother-in-law, my other house, which I bought of Mr. John Robinson, or this house which I now live in,¹ my wife taking her first choice, and God sending my brother-in-law an heyre, that he call his name Cox Bradley": later the testator remembers a moral obligation which he considers himself under, and continues: "My desire is that this house where I now dwell in shall be for my brother Samuel and his heyres as above expressed, by reason of fulfilling an oath formerly solemnly sworn to my mother, she forcing me to passion, in fulfilling whereof I desire that there may be no contention after my decease, concerning ye said house." After making several bequests to his mother, and to others, Cox left the remainder, being a considerable estate, to his wife Sarah, — the goods in his store were alone inventoried at 1900*l.*, — so that the stories about her later husband, Captain William Kidd, being a needy adventurer, when he started out upon his fatal voyage in the "Adventure" galley, five years later, are quite false.

The tendency of modern historical criticism — at any rate among American writers — is not to regard William Kidd as the Raw-Head-and-Bloody-Bones which he was once popularly considered, but to look upon him as having been to a consider-

¹ Upon the north side of Wall Street.

able extent a vicarious sacrifice to save the reputation of men occupying a great deal higher station than himself.

If, at the present day, the President of the United States, together with the Secretary of State, and three or four more members of the Cabinet and governors of States or Territories, should agree, in private conference, that inasmuch as thefts, highway robberies, and train robberies, kidnapping, and other crimes of violence had increased to an intolerable degree within the territories of the United States, but that on account of the oppressive taxation necessary to support the military operations of the country in various quarters of the globe, no further demands ought to be made or could safely be made upon the heavily burdened people; and should thereupon form an association — each one contributing a certain amount of money to it — for the purpose of equipping a private armed force to arrest or to destroy the outlaws, and stipulating that each one of the association should receive a certain proportion of the money and effects to be taken from such outlaws; if in addition to this, it should be agreed that the leader of this force, as well as the men under his command, were themselves to receive no compensation for their services except a further proportion of the effects of the alleged law-breakers, — if all this were to be done, it is very certain that a general chorus of animadversion would be raised, not only by the opposite political party in this country, but by all the civilized nations of the earth.

This, however, is substantially what was done in England in the year 1695. In the course of the wars between France and England, piracy had greatly increased upon the seas, much to the disturbance of the English, who looked upon the crime in an altogether different light when it was carried on against their commerce than when it was maintained (largely by themselves) against the Spanish. William III. was particularly anxious to have the pirates suppressed, and as they were supposed to have a good deal of support in the American colonies, and especially in New York, the king had selected Richard Coote, Earl of Bellamont, as Governor of New York,

to supplant Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, and had given him special instructions to operate against the pirates. It now became a question how these operations against the pirates should be carried on: the government, deeply involved in the war with France, could spare neither ships, men, nor money; but the Earl of Bellamont, in conjunction with Robert Livingston of New York (who is said to have been the originator of the scheme), formed a plan for sending out a private expedition, under warrant from the English government. For the commander of this expedition, Bellamont and Livingston fixed upon Captain William Kidd, who had now been living for about four years in the house at the present Hanover Square in New York. Kidd, who is said to have been a native of Greenock, at the mouth of the Clyde River in Scotland (then a mere village of fishers), was about thirty-five years of age at this time, a careful and experienced sea-captain of good repute, who as early as 1691 had served with distinction against the French. Kidd was also familiar with the haunts of the pirates, and had sanguine views about the ease with which he could capture them.

Having submitted their plan to the king, and received his sanction, articles of agreement were drawn up on the 10th of October, 1695, between the Earl of Bellamont and Kidd, whereby Bellamont undertakes to procure, from the king or from the commissioners of Admiralty, commissions to Kidd to fight the king's enemies or pirates, and also agrees to furnish four-fifths of the cost of buying and fitting up a proper vessel, the remaining fifth being furnished by Kidd and Livingston together. Kidd on his part agrees to take such prizes as he can, and forthwith to make the best of his way to Boston to condemn them, "without touching at any other place whatsoever," and he further agrees to enlist his men, "no purchase, no pay," — that is, they must look to their prizes for compensation. Both Kidd and Livingston entered into bonds for a considerable amount to secure their part of the undertaking. As for the Earl of Bellamont's share, it was in part made up, in sums of about £1000 each, by the following distinguished

partners: Lord John Somers, Keeper of the Great Seal; the Earl of Romney, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; the Earl of Shrewsbury, Secretary of State; and the Earl of Orford, First Lord of the Admiralty. One tenth part was to be reserved for the king, in token of his approval of the scheme. Kidd was thereupon granted two commissions, one bearing date December 10, 1695, an ordinary commission to act against the French; the other an extraordinary one dated 26th January, 1695-96, to apprehend and seize all pirates.

The dangers of admitting a large body of sailors into this sort of speculation, by making their pay contingent upon their success, were fully realized in England. Sir Edmund Harrison, who was one of the contributors to the enterprise, took care, — as we are informed in the pamphlet upon the Kidd Case, known as “Letters from a Person of Quality,” etc. (avowedly written in the interest of the Earl of Bellamont) — that every one of Kidd’s officers, and almost all the seamen, had settled families in England: “true it is, this last care was in a great degree rendered ineffectual, for most of his crew were pressed into the King’s service before he got out of the river.” Of course it is incredible that Kidd should not have complained of this interference with his commission; the act was evidently notorious; the intervention of the king or of the First Lord of the Admiralty, both of whom were partners with Kidd in this enterprise, would undoubtedly have been sufficient to restore these picked men at once; and Kidd lingered at Plymouth until April, 1696, and yet he was permitted by those in power to depart on such an errand as his with hardly any men, and without the prospect of getting any except the unstable characters whom he might succeed in alluring into his service in the colonies. He sailed finally for New York with his ship, the now notorious “Adventure” galley, and at that port he filled out his complement of men. Of their character the English government was fully informed by a letter from Governor Benjamin Fletcher to the Lords

of Trade in England:¹ "One Captain Kidd lately arrived here, and produced a commission under the Great Seal of England, for suppressing of piracy. When he was here many flocked to him from all parts, men of desperate fortunes and necessitous, in expectation of getting vast treasure. . . . It is generally believed here they will have money *per fas aut nefas*; that if he miss of the design intended, for which he has commission, 't will not be in Kidd's power to govern such a hord of men, under no pay."

In July, 1696, Kidd sailed from New York for the Straits of Madagascar. From this time, for more than a year and a half, we have no accurate knowledge of what took place on the "Adventure" galley. Kidd's own full statement was never allowed to be made public, but even from the one-sided testimony produced upon the so-called "trials" of the indictments against him (taken in conjunction with a few known facts), there is the strongest evidence that what had been anticipated actually occurred. The partners in this enterprise had been too sanguine. Such pirates as were upon the seas kept carefully out of Kidd's way, and French prizes were few and far between. The lawless characters composing the greater part of the crew of the "Adventure" became enraged at their ill-luck, and at the failure of Kidd's promises to them; they mutinied about the month of September, 1697, and from that time for a period of about four months, Kidd appears to have been practically a prisoner in the hands of his rebellious crew. Their ascendancy over him was greatly enhanced soon after the above-named date by an unfortunate occurrence, whereby Kidd, in a fit of passion, struck with a water bucket one of the mutineers named William Moore in such a manner that he died within a day or two from the effects of the blow.²

¹ The letter will be found in 4 Col. Doc., p. 275. It is not dated, but must have been written in the latter part of 1696.

² Kidd, as is well known, was tried at the Old Bailey upon an indictment for the killing of this man. The trial took place at the same time with the trials of the indictments for piracy. The witnesses for the government were the same two

Within the period of four months, above mentioned, five or six vessels are stated in the indictments and in the testimony taken thereupon to have been captured by the "Adventure" galley. Most of these were Arabian or "Moorish" coasters of the most insignificant size and value, one of them, of fifty tons' burden, yielded a little coffee and sugar, and "some sugar candy;" out of another, some coffee, pepper, and myrrh, worth

persons made use of as State's evidence in the piracy trials, — the mutineer, Joseph Palmer, and the drunken surgeon, Robert Bradinham. Kidd had no witnesses for his defence except those members of his crew who had been brought with him under arrest, from America to England. In the piracy trials their mouths were closed in his behalf, for they were jointly indicted with him; but in the murder trial, he was allowed to call them as witnesses. Unfortunately, however, they had seen little or nothing of the occurrence. Kidd, it must be remembered, under the criminal procedure of that period, was not allowed to testify in his own behalf. The respective trials for murder and for piracy throw much light one upon another. It appears that about a fortnight before the killing of William Moore, Kidd had fallen in with a vessel called the "Loyal Captain," which he had allowed to proceed upon its way, to the great dissatisfaction of his crew; the sailor, Moore, it seems, had been charged with exciting discontent among the others, by going about among them, saying that if the captain would have listened to him, he could have taken the vessel, without incurring any liability. The story of the killing, as given by the witness Palmer, was this: "Captain Kidd came and walked on the deck, and walks by this Moore, and when he came to him says, 'which way could you have put me in a way to take the ship and been clear?' 'Sir,' says William Moore, 'I never spoke such a word, nor ever thought such a thing,' upon which Captain Kidd called him a 'lousy dog,' and says William Moore, 'If I am a lousy dog, you have made me so; you have brought me to ruin and many more' — upon his saying this, says Captain Kidd, 'Have I ruined you, ye dog?' and took a bucket bound with iron hoops, and struck him on the right side of the head, of which he died the next day."

Macaulay, writing up the glories of his idolized William III. and of Lord John Somers, tells of the "agony of remorse" with which William Moore uttered the above remark. If one can shake off the charm of the great historian's picturesque style long enough to examine critically his remarkably inaccurate account of this affair, he will be apt to conclude, — inasmuch as the occurrence took place before the alleged piratical depredations of the "Adventure" galley, — that William Moore's remark to his captain was made much more in a spirit of surly reproach for having been induced by him to enter an unremunerative service than in any "agony of remorse." As for William Moore himself, he appears to have been previously in trouble, and under arrest in New York upon several occasions, for difficulties between himself and his superior officers. (Vide Colonial MSS., N. Y. State Library.)

about \$100, were taken on board the "Adventure," and the vessel then was allowed to proceed upon its way; this was the earliest act of piracy charged, and as it is hardly credible that these trifles formed the whole cargo of the "Moorish" vessel, they may have been nothing more than the private property of a Portuguese who was transferred at this time to the "Adventure," to act as an interpreter; no cross-examination by counsel, upon the trials, was permitted to throw any light upon these matters. As to the other captures, one or two of them were made by boats' crews, and the whole series of them seems to be much more the work of a lawless gang of ruffians, ready to take anything that came in their way, than that of an experienced sea-captain, who was not laboring under any suspicions of lunacy.

On the 27th of November, 1697, the "Adventure" captured off Surat a Moorish ship, which, according to Kidd's claim, was sailing under French papers. This of course he was justified in seizing under his commission, and it then became his duty to have taken her at once to Boston, in pursuance of his agreement with Bellamont, to have her condemned in a prize court. The vessel and her cargo, however, were of but little value, and the crew, as was further claimed by Kidd (and with great probability of truth), refused to waste so many months on a voyage from the Persian Gulf to Boston; the few articles of value of this vessel's cargo seem to have been taken possession of by the "Adventure's" men, and some of them carried on shore and sold at different points along the coast.

On the 30th of January, 1698 (N. S.), however, the "Adventure" captured a prize of a different character. This was the famous "Quedagh" or "Quiddah" merchant. She was sailing with French papers, as was claimed by Kidd, and her cargo, of which a large part belonged to some Armenian merchants, was a very valuable one. Kidd's crew were no more disposed to sail to Boston with this prize than with the others. They had already done enough in the way of mutiny and piracy to bring them into the most imminent danger of

their lives, but they had now in their hands enough to compensate them for the risks they had run. A goodly portion of the valuable cargo of the "Quedagh" was sold, in what manner we have no definite information, at various points upon the coasts of India; the "Adventure's" crew divided among themselves a large amount of money obtained in this way; and then the greater portion of the men, being nearly a hundred in number, abandoned the vessels, went on shore with their gains, and dispersed themselves in such directions as they thought best.

There remained now about fifty men with Kidd, and with these he started to return to the American colonies. The "Adventure" having become leaky, it was abandoned, and Kidd and his crew sailed in the "Quedagh" merchant, and seem to have arrived in the West Indies in the latter part of 1698, or in the early part of 1699.

In the mean time, reports of the work of the "Adventure" galley reached England, and excited great consternation among Captain Kidd's distinguished partners. Political animosities ran high at this time, and the party opposed to the government eagerly seized upon this piece of scandal for political capital. Vigorous measures of some kind had to be taken by the administration, and accordingly, upon the 16th of December, 1698, before any definite or trustworthy account of Captain Kidd's doings could possibly have reached England, a proclamation was issued by the English government, offering a pardon to all persons guilty of piratical practices, who should surrender themselves before a certain date to commissioners named for that purpose. From the benefit of this proclamation, Captain William Kidd was expressly excluded.

It is uncertain whether or not Kidd first heard of this proclamation in the West Indies, though it seems quite probable that he did. Under any circumstances, and whether guilty or innocent, he had to anticipate much trouble ahead for himself; and it was probably from this reason that he seems to have adopted an expedient the practical effect of

which has been to obscure both his own conduct and that of the high-placed parties with whom he was associated, but which—though ill-judged—is not incompatible with his own innocence of the main charges against him.

This expedient was to retain, or to give the impression that he retained, upon his surrender of himself to the government, a sufficient security under his own control, to enable him to force the government to grant him the immunity from prosecution or the pardon, to which he claimed to be entitled.

Accordingly, leaving his vessel and what remained of her cargo (and this was of great value, according to his assertion) under the care of a small guard at some undisclosed place in the West Indies, Kidd with forty or fifty of his men made their appearance in the early part of 1699, in a small coasting vessel in the vicinity of New York, and after depositing certain valuables upon Gardiner's Island, and at one or two other points, the captain opened communications, through Mr. James Emott, a New York attorney, with Lord Bellamont, who was then at Boston, he being Governor of Massachusetts as well as of New York. Kidd's proposition was a simple one. He offered to turn over to Lord Bellamont and to the government the "Quedagh" merchant and such part of the cargo and of the proceeds thereof as remained in his hands, upon receiving a pardon and indemnity against loss on the bond which he had given. With his communication to Lord Bellamont, Kidd sent, by his agent Emott, as announced by Bellamont to the Council in Boston, "two French papers, found in two ships taken by said Kidds Co., by violence against his will."

There is little question that at this stage of the affair, Bellamont accepted Kidd's version of the transactions which had taken place, and wished to accept his proposition. "I make no doubt," he writes to Kidd, "but to obtain the king's pardon for you and those few men you have left, who, I understand, have been faithful to you and refused, as well as you, to dishonor the commission you had from England." Afterwards, when it became evident that Kidd was to be sacrificed

to the interests of the Whig administration, it suited Bellamont to proclaim that his letter to Kidd had been merely a lying one. In a letter from New York to Secretary Vernon, dated December 6, 1700, he says: "When I writ that letter to Kid by Burgesse, I had an account that he was certainly turned pyrate; and then I could not be blamed to have a just indignation against him, and to try by all means to get him into my hands, and 'tis plain menacing him had not been the way to invite him hither, but rather wheedling, and that way I took, and after that manner I got him at last into Boston, when I secured him."

Whatever Bellamont's motives may have been, and under whatever orders, if any, from the English government he may have been acting, it is certain that Kidd, soon after his landing at Boston, was placed under arrest and sent to England. There he remained in prison, without being brought to trial, from the summer of 1699 till May, 1701, — nearly two years. What the reasons were for this delay, we do not know; they may have arisen from an attempt to extort from Kidd his secret as to the alleged wealth he had concealed; or there may have been compunction about carrying out the punishment of Kidd; or perhaps the opposition party did not allow the government a free hand; in the absence of authentic information, we can only surmise.

Just at this point, the criminality of Lord Somers and of his associates — not excepting the king — commences. It was of course evident that if Kidd was not to be punished, there was scarcely a possibility that any of his mutinous crew, by that time scattered all over the globe, would ever be brought to punishment, and the scandal of the "Adventure's" doings would remain, as a perpetual reproach to the Whig administration, and a menace to the not too firmly established Protestant succession to the English throne.

Two courses were open to the administration: one was to examine carefully and impartially Kidd's story, and if it were found to be true to acquit him, and they themselves to assume the opprobrium of their ill-advised and indecent

(though not criminal) speculative enterprise; the other course was to convict Kidd, and then to pose as the victims of a wicked deceiver, — they seem to have chosen the latter course.

Few persons can read the accounts of the trials of Kidd and of his associates at the Old Bailey, on the 8th and 9th of May, 1701, without a feeling of pain and disgust. The trial of Kidd for the murder of William Moore; and the trials of Kidd and of half a score of the seamen of his crew on six separate indictments for piracy, — all took place within those two days. In a matter of such supreme importance, no counsel was allowed to the prisoners, although Doctor (in the Civil Law) Oldish and Mr. Proctor Lemmon stood ready in the court room to appear for Kidd. It had been only a short time before when the young Lord Ashley, rising in Parliament to speak in favor of the bill then pending, which allowed counsel to persons tried upon charges of treason, lost his control and was for a short time unable to proceed; then recovering himself, he said: "How can I, Sir, produce a stronger argument in favour of this bill than my own failure? My fortune, my character, my life, are not at stake. I am speaking to an audience whose kindness might well inspire me with courage. And yet, from mere nervousness, from mere want of practice in addressing large assemblies, I have lost my recollection. I am unable to go on with my argument. How helpless then must be a poor man, who, never having opened his lips in public, is called upon to reply without a moment's preparation to the ablest and most experienced advocates in the kingdom, and whose faculties are paralysed by the thought that, if he fails to convince his hearers, he will in a few hours die on the gallows, and leave beggary and infamy to those who are dearest to him!"

Lord Ashley's speech had created a great impression in England at the time, but it does not seem to have made much impression upon the judges of the court which tried William Kidd. They were less loud-mouthed, it is true, than their predecessor, the bawling monster, Jeffreys, whose memory

was still fresh and hideous among men, but otherwise his mantle seems to have fallen upon worthy shoulders. They give the impression that they were men appointed to perform an unsavory piece of work, and who had made up their minds to go stoutly through with it. Even the understrapper, clerk of the arraignments, was permitted to take a hand in the brow-beating. A specimen extract or two from the court proceedings may be not without interest.¹ The prisoners had been brought into court to plead to the indictments:

“CL. ARR. William Kidd, hold up thy hand.

KIDD. May it please your Lordships, I desire you to permit me to have counsel.

RECORDER (*Sir Salathiel Lovell*). What would you have counsel for?

KIDD. My Lord, I have some matter of law relating to the indictment, and I desire I may have counsel to speak to it.

DR. OXENDEN. What matter of law can you have?

CL. ARR. How does he know what it is he is charged with? I have not told him.

RECORDER. Mr. Kidd, do you know what you mean by matter of law?

KIDD. I know what I mean. I desire to put off my trial as long as I can, till I can get my evidence ready.

REC. Mr. Kidd, you had best mention the matter of law you would insist on.

.

KIDD. I desire your Lordship's favor. I desire Dr. Oldish and Mr. Lemmon may be heard as to my case.

CL. ARR. What can he have counsel for before he has pleaded? . . .

KIDD. I beg your Lordships' patience till I can procure my papers. I had a couple of French passes, which I must make use of in order to my justification.

¹ Kidd was undoubtedly, as he mournfully exclaimed in the court-room, “without money and without friends.” The aim of the Tory opposition party was to have him convicted of piracy, and to fasten guilty knowledge of his piratical designs upon the government, — not at all to have him acquitted.

REC. That is not matter of law. You have had long notice of your trial, and might have prepared for it. How long have you had notice of your trial?

KIDD. A matter of a fortnight.

DR. OXENDEN. Can you tell the names of any persons you would make use of in your defence?

KIDD. I sent for them, but I could not have them.

DR. O. Where were they then?

KIDD. I brought them to my Lord Bellamont in New England.

REC. What were their names? You cannot tell without book?¹
Mr. Kidd, the court sees no reason to put off your trial, therefore you must plead. . . .

KIDD. I beg your Lordships I may have counsel admitted, and that my trial may be put off. I am not really prepared for it.

REC. Nor never will be, if you can help it.

.

KIDD. If your Lordships permit those papers to be read, they will justify me. I desire my counsel may be heard. . . .

MR. CONIERS.² We admit of no counsel for him. . . .

MR. LEMMON. He ought to have his papers delivered to him, because they are very material for his defence; he has endeavored to have them, but could not get them.

MR. CONIERS. You are not to appear for any one till he pleads, and that the court assigns you for his counsel."

So the trials were hurried on then and there. The witnesses for the prosecution, two doubtful characters of the crew, one of whom, as accidentally appeared, had previously stated that Captain Kidd would be able to justify himself in everything he had done, went through their parrot-like stories on each of the several indictments. Hearsay evidence, opinions, and assertions as to Kidd's motives and intentions

¹ Meaning evidently his lists of the crew.

² For the government. It is well to remember that in the case of Captain Cuddiford, who was accused of piracy and tried at about this time, the court allowed him counsel without hesitation. In Kidd's case, however, it is quite probable that the officers of the government saw very clearly that counsel for Kidd would be likely to ask many questions that would prove embarrassing for the eminent partners of the latter.

were all admitted in evidence without question, — till Kidd asked one of the witnesses in despair: “Mr. Bradinham, are you not promised your life to swear away mine?” The cross-examinations of these witnesses by the prisoners on trial for their lives, ignorant men, most of whom probably had never been in a court-room before, would have been ludicrous, had it not been so pitiable. The prisoners were not allowed to testify in their own behalf, nor for each other, and had really nothing to offer which could be looked at in the light of a defence.¹ They were found guilty, almost as a matter of course, and then, when asked by the court what they had to say, the following remarkable colloquy took place, between Kidd and Chief Baron Ward, who pronounced the sentence:

“KIDD. I have many papers for my defence, if I could have had them.

L. C. B. WARD. What papers were they?

KIDD. My French passes.

L. C. B. WARD. Where are they?

KIDD. My Lord Bellamont had them.

L. C. B. WARD. If you had had the French papers, you should have condemned the ships.

KIDD. I could not because of the mutiny in my ship.

L. C. B. WARD. If you had anything of disability upon you to make your defence, *you should have objected to it at the beginning of your trial. What you mean by it now I cannot tell.*”

So the “trial” ended. Captain Kidd may possibly have been a pirate, but it was not proved by these proceedings; they may perhaps be the subject of future revision by a higher tribunal, — in the words of Rudyard Kipling: —

“When the last grim joke is entered
In the big, black Book of Jobs.”

¹ Kidd had three or four naval officers present to testify to his character. All spoke well of him, but this of course had little or no bearing upon the cases on trial. As for the killing of the sailor Moore, it may have amounted to a grade of manslaughter; but if the mutinous disposition of the men existed, as there is every reason to believe it did, the matter would not have been taken notice of under similar circumstances on any other vessel in the service.

Three days after the trial, upon the 12th of May, 1701, William Kidd was hanged at Execution Dock, Wapping.¹ His confiscated effects, supposed to have been mainly such portions of the proceeds of the cargo of the "Quedagh" merchant as the English government could get into its possession, and amounting to something over £6400, were added to the endowment of Greenwich Hospital, the unfinished towers and quadrangle of which were probably some of the last objects which Captain Kidd beheld as he looked from the scaffold upon the muddy shores of Wapping, over the low cottages of Rotherhithe, and down the long Limehouse Reach of the Thames, crowded with vessels of all descriptions. There, within the walls of that world-renowned charity for seamen, the British Admiralty might, with merit, place a memorial tablet to William Kidd, as to one of the benefactors of the hospital, with the simple inscription, taken from a tomb in the great abbey, at the other end of the metropolis:

"Qualis erat, iste dies indicabit."

Kidd's imaginary exploits became the fruitful theme of sailors' yarns, and a lurid ballad, sung to the then popular Whig air of "Ye Jacobites by name give an ear, give an ear!" was long a favorite among them, its strains, sung in rather lively measure, being often heard over the water of a summer night:

"I murdered William Moore
As I sailed, as I sailed.
I murdered William Moore
As I sailed.
I murdered William Moore,
And I left him in his gore,
Not many leagues from shore,
As I sailed."

¹ None of the members of Kidd's crew, who were tried and condemned to death with him, were ever executed, as far as we are informed. It was probably never designed that they should be. Statements have been made by certain writers, without giving their authority, that the members of Kidd's crew, who were tried with him were also executed, but the records of the trial, though mentioning the carrying out of the sentence in Kidd's case are silent as to the crew.

Captain Kidd's widow married, in 1703, for her fourth husband, Christopher Rousby, a man of considerable political influence in the colony. Mrs. Kidd's property in New York was confirmed to her by the English government; and she and her husband resided for a time in the old Bowery mansion of Director Stuyvesant, whose farm they had leased. Mrs. Sarah Rousby attained a great age, much of the latter part of her life being spent in New Jersey. Her will, bearing date November 1, 1732, was proved some twelve years later, at which time she seems to have left four children surviving her.

CHAPTER XIX

SERGEANT DANIEL LITSCHO AND HIS TAVERN.—ANDRIES JOCHEMSEN.—THE “OUTHOEK.”—WALL STREET AND THE PALISADES OF 1653.—TYMEN JANSEN, THE SHIP CARPENTER, AND HIS HOUSE

I bade her on her license look,
“ Oh Sir,” quoth she, “ ye are mistook,
I have a lesson without book,
Most perfect;
If I my license should observe,
And not in any point to swerve,
Both I and mine, alas! should starve,
Not surfeit.”

Ballad of “ Robin Conscience.”

NEXT in an easterly direction beyond the grounds of Govert Loockermans, stood, upon the Shore Road, in the year 1655, a building which appears to have been, as early as 1645, in the possession of Dirck Volckertsen, one of the oldest settlers; was subsequently for a time the property and probably the residence of Govert Loockermans, and then became the tavern of Sergeant Daniel Litscho. As the records of Litscho's transactions relating to his property at this place are very imperfect, we have to glean our information largely from detached references and other scraps of information, supplying something from conjecture. Daniel Litscho or Letscho is supposed to have been a native of the town of Cōsslin in Pomerania, near the coast of the Baltic Sea.¹ He reached New Amsterdam at an early date, though

¹ The name “Leko,” with some slight variations, forms the appellation of several villages near this town, and the sergeant's name may have been derived from one of them, — not an unusual case.

the year is not known. Pomerania suffered severely, about the year 1630, in the Thirty Years' War, as has already been noticed (*ante*, page 225), and it is not unlikely that Litscho may have quitted his country at that time. At any rate, this house upon the Shore Road was in his occupation before 1648, in which year he was one of the twelve licensed tavern-keepers of New Amsterdam. His tavern seems to have been a good-sized building, for it is occasionally spoken of as "the great house," though this is perhaps only in comparison with a smaller one afterwards built to the east of it. It had at least a quarter of an acre of ground attached to it, with a frontage upon the river road of some seventy-five feet, and back of its garden were a few apple-trees,¹ which were called its "orchard," and which about the time of our survey had been the subject of great depredations by the vagrant goats of the town, which were permitted to feed on the vacant "out-hoek" of the Jan Damen farm, extending from this point to the city "Wall," upon the north line of the present Wall Street. The tavern seems to have stood a little distance back from the line of the street, and its site is in good part occupied by the present building No. 125 Pearl Street.²

Sergeant Daniel Litscho no longer kept tavern here at the time of our survey in 1655. In the spring of 1651, he leased the house to one Andries Jochemsen, who kept a tavern or ale-house here for many years, and afterwards acquired the property. Litscho, in a short time after the last-mentioned date, appears to have exchanged his house and land at this place with Claes Hendricks, a carpenter, for a somewhat larger parcel of land owned by the latter, just outside of the

¹ In a deed, supposed to be of this property, from Dirck Volckertsen to Govert Aersen, in 1645, the vendor of the property reserves the right "to remove six apple-trees."

² The property seems in part to have belonged originally to the tract granted to Tymen Jansen, and subsequently to have been controlled by Govert Loockermans. In 1644, this portion of the Tymen Jansen patent was apparently re-granted by the Director and Council to Jan Damen. Dirck Volckertsen was the husband of Damen's step-daughter, and, probably enough, had acquired an enlargement of his ground from his father-in-law.

gate of the palisades at Wall Street. There the sergeant dwelt, and probably kept a tavern, at the time of our survey, and for a short period thereafter, as will be noticed in proper order.

As for Andries Jochemsen, he had the usual troubles of a tavern-keeper with the Dutch authorities. He could not resist the temptation of occasionally tapping on Sundays during the hours of preaching, when some of the idle negroes or other good-for-nothing vagabonds of the town found their way into his tavern. Nor was he always particular to turn away his customers at nine o'clock in the evening, as the ordinances required. The schout often had to pay disciplinary visits to Jochemsen's tavern, and these were greatly resented by the tavern-keeper's huysvrouw, insomuch that the officer reported to the burgomasters upon one occasion that after having noted down Andries "for the fine," the wife of the latter "called out after him: 'Schout, I have something to say to thee; hast thou any soul or conscience? Dost thou expect to go to heaven?' — and more such like words, so that if he were as willing as she, there would have been a street uproar." These pointed inquiries, so disconcerting to a New York official, even at that early day, were however denied by Andries. His recollection was that the remark made to the schout was merely: "Thou hast a conscience, which is not worth much," or, "which is somewhat large."

Claes Hendricksen, the carpenter, seems to have built a house upon the easterly side of the plot of ground he had acquired from Sergeant Litscho, and an earlier building doubtless stood there also, for in subsequent transfers of the premises they are said to contain two houses, one of which was a small one and appears to have been afterwards removed. About the time of our survey these buildings passed through several hands in quick succession, possibly under the foreclosure of a mortgage upon them. They were held in 1655 by Arent van Curler, and do not seem to have been regularly tenanted. Finally they were sold in 1659 to one Jan Lourensen, who resided here for many years. At the period of our

survey, these were the last houses along the shore within the town palisades at Wall Street, but within a year or two later, Sergeant Litscho, whose house outside the gate had been condemned by the authorities as standing too near the fortifications, returned to this spot, and built upon some land he had recently purchased upon the Damen "outhoek." His house joined immediately to that of Jan Lourensen upon the east, and here he, and after his death in 1662 his wife Anneken, kept a tavern for a long period, she being well known in the later English times as "Mother Daniels."¹ This tavern was a prominent one, and derived not a little importance from the fact that it was a sort of fire station for the eastern part of the town, — a dozen fire-buckets having been ordered in 1659 to be kept here for use in cases of emergency.

This, however, was after the time of our survey. In 1655, all the space from Arent van Curler's houses (or from about the present building, No. 129 Pearl Street) to the earthwork and palisades, which ran along the northerly line of the present Wall Street, — being a distance of about two hundred and seventy-five feet, — was waste ground, where goats browsed, and where dandelions starred the sod in spring, as they do now in many a similar neglected spot in the outskirts of the city.

The land lying along the river road, or the modern Pearl Street, and extending from a short distance east of the present Hanover Street to Maiden Lane, had been granted by the

¹ Under the Dutch system of names, by which her own appeared as Anneke Danielse. This lady, like many of her neighbors, had seen a good deal of the world. She was the daughter of one Claas Croesens, and had in her earlier life married Jan Jansen Swaartveger, who is supposed to have been in the military service of the West India Company. She accompanied her husband to Brazil, and there, at the Castle of Rio Grande, her son, Harmanus Jansen, was born, about the year 1643. Her first husband having died, we find her about the year 1647 married to Sergeant Litscho, by whom she had one daughter, Anna. Her son Harmanus is said in 1662 to be living in New Amsterdam, engaged in the study of medicine and surgery. Her daughter Anna married William Bartre or Peartree, sometimes spoken of as "Colonel," and Frances, the daughter of the latter, who married William Smith, a merchant, was the mother of William Peartree Smith, prominent in the Colonial days of New York.

Director and Council, at a very early date, to two or three individuals, who had built upon and otherwise improved their holdings. Among these proprietors was Tymen Jansen, master ship carpenter for the West India Company, who in 1643 received a grant for a parcel upon which he must have previously resided for a number of years, and which seems to have stretched along the river road, about from the present No. 125 Pearl Street to what is now the rear of the Seaman's Savings Bank building at the northwest corner of Pearl and Wall streets, — a distance of about four hundred and fifty feet. In depth this plot of ground averaged almost two hundred and twenty-five feet, so that its area amounted to more than two acres. Tymen Jansen died in, or soon after, the year 1644: previously, however, he appears to have sold, or to have agreed to sell to Jan Jansen Damen, whose farm adjoined him upon the west, the bulk of his holding, being almost two acres in area, and lying nearest the town; it was separated from the reserved portion of his plot by a lane lying just north of the present Wall Street;¹ the portion thus sold to Damen was situated somewhat southeast of Jan Damen's farm, which it touched at one corner, — scarcely more than enough to afford passage from one parcel of ground to the other. This was granted to Jan Damen, and from its shape and situation became known as the "outhoek" of his farm. When, in 1653, the palisades were constructed along what is now the northern line of Wall Street, this "outhoek" became entirely separated from the body of the farm; and in the spring of the next year, 1654, the heirs of Jan Damen² sold this parcel of ground for

¹ This lane led into the ancient Schaape Weytie, or Sheep Pasture, and by various turnings appears to have communicated with the Slyck Steegh, or Mill Lane. There are indications that it formed a very ancient road or perhaps wood path, in use before the road was laid out along the river-bank, and which perhaps ran still farther along the low slopes of the upland into the old lane forming the present Gold Street (with which it was in line), and so into Van Tienhoven's lane and out to the Second Common Pasture, or present City Hall Park. That portion of the lane more especially referred to in the text seems to have been swallowed up by the ditch constructed in 1653 on the north side of the town palisades.

² Strictly speaking, the heirs of Jan Damen's deceased wife, Arientje. She had acquired the property from her husband by survivorship, and upon her death, soon after his own, it passed to her children by a former husband.

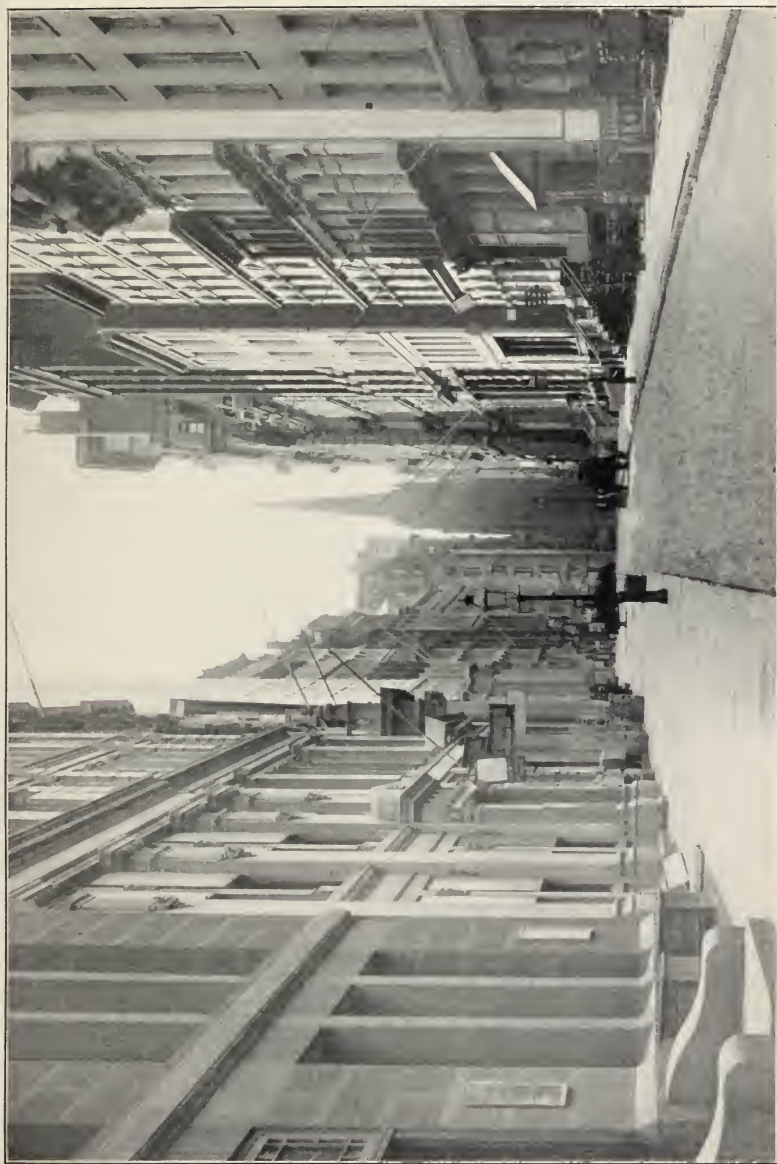
"a thousand pieces of green plank," to Jacob Flodder, of Fort Orange, or Albany. Flodder appears to have bought the ground for speculative purposes; and in the summer of 1656, after some delay in getting his deed for the premises, he sold a part of it, probably at auction, in six parcels, to as many different individuals. These seem, in their turn, to have bought "for a rise," for, with the exception of Daniel Litscho, who built upon his plot at the westerly end of the "outhoek," as previously mentioned, the rest of the purchasers appear to have allowed their lots to remain unimproved for a number of years.

To the stroller, passing up Pearl Street, it is somewhat difficult to realize, as Wall Street with its hurrying, jostling throng, opens before him, that here, about two centuries and a half ago, little was to be seen except a rather forlorn earthwork of sods, four or five feet in height, above which showed a perhaps equal height of roughly hewn and pointed "palisades," formed of the trunks of small trees six inches or thereabouts in diameter. At the foot of the earthwork was an open space along which the burgher militia companies occasionally drilled, and sentries paced now and then at periods of alarm, but which at other times lay solitary and waste.

This line of defence, occupying the northerly side of Wall Street, stretched (as originally laid out) straight across the island, from the East River to the North River, passing over the site of the present Trinity Church. On the further side, lay its trench, "four or five feet in depth, and ten or eleven broad, somewhat sloping," — using the not very precise language of the order of its construction. This order of the Council bears date the 20th of April, 1653. The details of the construction of this line of defence, given by Mr. D. T. Valentine,¹ evidently refer to merely preliminary and tentative plans under discussion by the Director and Council.²

¹ In Manual N. Y. Com. Council, 1862, p. 520.

² One of these plans provided for a curtain of planks four inches thick, instead of the palisades, and these seem to have been afterwards added or substituted,



NORTH SIDE OF WALL STREET.
Line of the Palisades of 1653.

The work was intended, of course, only as a defence against an attack by land from an enemy without artillery, — either from the Indians or from the New England colonists, with the latter of whom trouble was anticipated about this time.

No mention is made in the original proceedings, of the construction of bastions along the line of defence, but in "The Duke's Plan," so called, of the town as it was in the year 1661, we find that five small "flat" bastions, of a semi-elliptical form, had by that time been constructed along the works. These merely projected far enough from the curtain, or main line, to allow a couple of guns to be mounted upon each of them; they were, in all probability, constructed within a year or two after the original works, and their positions are quite closely defined. Proceeding from the east toward the North River, the first of these bastions was situated just about opposite the head of the present Hanover Street; the second was a few feet west of the present William Street, being located about at the spot where now stands the entrance to the Bank of America; the third occupied the southwest part of the Sub-Treasury Building, at the corner of Wall and Nassau streets; the fourth was a few feet east of Broadway, being nearly upon the site of the building No. 4 Wall Street; and the fifth stood at the rear of the present Trinity Church. Through these defences, two narrow gates gave access to the town, — the so-called "Land Poort" at the present Broadway, and the "Water Poort" at the river road, or present Pearl Street.

About the period of the surrender to the English, in 1664, several changes were made in the "fortifications;" and the bastions, which had been somewhat too close together, were demolished, with the exception of the second and the fifth

and to have been probably furnished upon contract by the heirs of the Damen farm from the "thousand pieces of green plank" for which they sold the "outhoek" to Jacob Flodder, in 1654, as previously stated in the text. That the palisades were originally used, is shown, however, by a report made to the Council in 1655 that "about 65 of the new palisades have been chopped down, and used for fire-wood," — some of the suburban residents evidently having possessed the same traits in the seventeenth century as at the present day.

of those above noted, — if, indeed, the fifth was not rather rebuilt at this time, at a point nearer Broadway than before.

In 1673–74, at the time of the recapture of the town by the Dutch, Governor Colve effected considerable further changes in these works. A general clearance of buildings and obstructions in their vicinity took place, in the course of which several interesting landmarks were demolished. That portion of the fortification west of Broadway was entirely rebuilt upon new lines, being turned to the south, towards the present Rector Street, in such a manner as to cover its exposed flank, in the direction of the North River; the site of the present Trinity Church was now left entirely outside of the works.

The second bastion, above spoken of, near the present William Street, was now considerably enlarged, and a new one was constructed just east of Broadway: these received names, according to the custom of the Dutch, and were known as “Hollandia” and “Zeelandia.” The gate at Broadway was closed, and a new one was constructed at the head of Broad Street, where it was commanded by both the bastions; the road thence turned along the trench, and in front of the westerly bastion into Broadway. A gate, or at least an opening, at Broadway seems to have been restored within a few years, in compliance with a public demand, but the gate at Broad Street appears to have remained in use till the final destruction of the works about the end of the seventeenth century.¹

An observer, standing at the narrow “Water Poort,” looking northwards, in the year 1655, saw before him the ditch of the town “fortification;” upon its south bank the line of palisades nine feet high, and upon its north bank the fence of the Damen farm, formed a vista extending straight up the hill, towards the North River. Over the ditch a rough bridge was probably thrown, at the gate, and through it ran a small rill collected from springs at the foot of the hillside pasture

¹ In 1674 an order of council was made for the construction of “a little gate” at Smits Vly, for a foot passage.

known as the Claaver Weytie of the Damen farm. Over this streamlet, and upon the east side of the road or present Pearl Street, a score and more of years after the time of our survey, the butchers of the town¹ erected slaughter-houses, much as the poulterers of London, centuries ago, built their scalding-house over the somewhat similarly situated stream called the Wallbrook. These slaughter-houses, and the pens for cattle which were situated opposite them, were long conspicuous features in this part of the town: at the period of our survey, however, neither the slaughter-houses nor the cattle-pens existed. In place of the latter, there stood near the bank of the trench of the palisades, and in inconveniently close proximity to the gate of the town, the house built more than twenty years before, by Director-General Van Twiller, for Tymen Jansen, the master ship-carpenter at New Amsterdam for the West India Company.

Of Tymen Jansen's antecedents but little appears in the early records. He was born about the year 1603, and came to New Amsterdam a young man, for he was in the employ of the Company before 1633. He was a busy man in his occupation, and during Director Van Twiller's term of office, from 1633 to 1638, he is said, in a report soon after the latter date, to have "made many repairs, and built new vessels, with a wood-cutters' boat, and various farm boats and skiffs," so that the shore opposite his house, and near the foot of the present Wall Street, must have been the scene of considerable activity in these first ship-building operations of New York. To the house was attached almost half an acre of ground.² The building must have stood very nearly upon the spot now (1901) occupied by a stationer's shop under the Seaman's Savings Bank, but projecting somewhat out into the present Pearl Street, the road at this place appearing to have originally curved to the eastward a little more than do the lines of Pearl Street; the straightening, doubtless, took place at the time of building the gate in the palisades, in 1653. Here Tymen

¹ Prominent among whom were Thomas Robinson and James Burne.

² His original plot, as above stated, contained somewhat more than two acres.

Jansen lived for some ten or twelve years with his wife, Marritie, and his little daughter Elsie, of whose troubled life in after years, as the wife of Jacob Leisler, mention has already been made.¹ Jansen seems to have prospered, and in 1642 and 1643 he received grants of a considerable tract of land upon Long Island, covering the site of the present court-house of Queens County and its vicinity, in Long Island City. Whether he had grown independent with years, and was desirous of attending to his own private affairs, or whether he was not in as high favor with Director Kieft as with his predecessor, does not appear; but we find that in 1644 the Director and Council complained of him for neglecting to repair the yachts "Amsterdam" and "Prins Willem," to which he responded, somewhat tartly, that "he has done his best, and cannot know when a vessel is leaky unless those in charge inform him of the fact; furthermore, that nothing can be done without means." Jansen, however, like many other pioneers of the colonies of America, was not fated to attain old age; he died before the year 1646, and in that year his widow married Dirck Cornelissen, of Wensveen, a carpenter by trade, who was probably the son of Cornelis Leendertsen, the former business associate of Govert Loockermans.²

Dirck Cornelissen dying in the year 1648, in the following year his widow married Govert Loockermans, as previously mentioned (*ante*, page 241), and removed to the house of the latter at the present Hanover Square. Some time afterwards Loockermans and his wife sold the shipwright's former house to one Claes Hendricksen, and he, in his turn, seems to have exchanged the property, about the beginning of 1653, with Sergeant Daniel Litscho, for his house and ground situated

¹ See *ante*, pages 242, 245.

² Dirck Cornelissen seems to have been something of a practical joker. In 1643, Tomas Broen, a corporal of the garrison, complained to the Council that while he was on duty, Dirck Cornelissen, carpenter (evidently on the score of some alleged claim against the West India Company), "took off his (Broen's) hat, saying: 'Thou art the Company's servant; I'll pledge the hat for drink,' taking it away with him, and he hath nailed it on a post in front of his house, putting a stone in the hat."

some distance nearer the fort. (See *ante*, page 268.) The sergeant probably built upon a portion of the ground immediately east of the old house, and about at the rear of the present Seaman's Savings Bank building, and he seems to have kept his tavern here for several years.

In the mean time, an agreement had apparently been made by Claes Hendricksen, for the sale of the original house to Tryntje Scheerenborg, the widow of Hendrick Jansen, the tailor (whose difficulties with Director Kieft have already come under our notice,¹ and who was drowned in the wreck of the "Princess"); she had paid a part of the purchase price, but had died without having received any deed of the property. She left two daughters, one of whom was married to Isaac Kip, a young man, the son of Hendrick Kip, the tailor; the other daughter was the wife of Gillis Pietersen, from Gouda, who was an old employé of the West India Company, having been "master house-carpenter" for that corporation as early as 1638. In the early part of the year 1653, these parties had been exceedingly anxious to have their deed of the house purchased by their deceased mother-in-law; in fact, they brought a suit against Claes Hendricksen to compel him to furnish them with a deed, but the court held that they must look to Sergeant Litscho for that assurance.

In the mean time, the "palisades" and the town gate had been built, in inconvenient proximity to this house; and when, a short time afterwards, Sergeant Litscho offered a deed to Kip and Pietersen, and called upon them for the balance of the purchase-money remaining due upon the property, they refused to pay because of the recent encroachments by the authorities. To appease them, the burgomasters visited the spot, and after viewing the obstructions, ordered a small guard-house, which had been built outside the gate, to be removed. The house of Kip and Pietersen remained for three or four years blocking up the way; in 1656 the burgomasters were obliged to serve upon them an official notice: "Whereas, the fence of your garden by the Town Gate is standing too near

¹ See *ante*, page 229.

the Town Waal, you are therefore ordered to take in your fence, so that wagons and horses can conveniently pass.”¹ Finally, to get rid of the inconvenience arising from the proximity of this house to the gate, the burgomasters decided to condemn and to demolish the building, which was done in June, 1657, the owners being awarded five hundred and fifty guilders, or two hundred and twenty dollars for their property. At about the same time, the adjacent tavern of Sergeant Litscho seems also to have been removed, though the records do not show the amount of his award.

¹ This order of the burgomasters bears date October 7, 1656. The “Waal” referred to is not the line of palisades, but the protection to the shore, by sheet piling or otherwise. Mr. Valentine has made the mistake of constantly confounding the two.

Plan of New Amsterdam

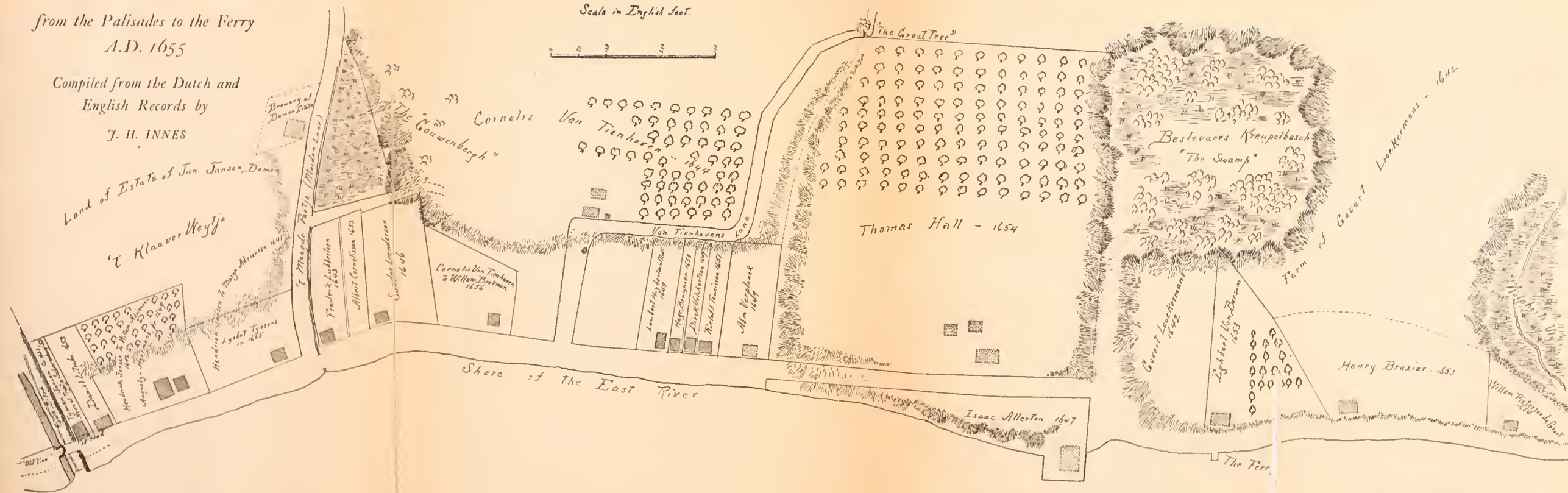
from the Palisades to the Ferry

A.D. 1655

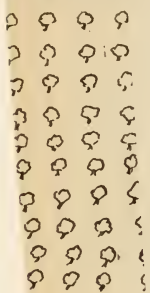
Compiled from the Dutch and

English Records by

J. H. INNES



The Great Tree



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CHAPTER XX

THE SMITS VLY.—HENDRICK JANSEN'S GRANT.—AUGUSTYN HEERMANS AND HIS HOUSE.—MARYN ADRIAENSEN AND HIS ATTACK ON DIRECTOR KIEFT

PROCEEDING outwards from the town, we have now reached the district long known as the Smits Vly. This was a tract of low-lying land between the river shore and the foot of the hills forming the body of the island; it stretched along the river from near Wall Street about to the present Beekman Street, a distance of a quarter of a mile, and varied in width from about one hundred and fifty to two hundred and fifty feet. Though doubtless full of springs, it does not seem to have been sufficiently wet to deter improvement, for portions of it were built upon at a very early date. The term "vly," as used in this connection, does not exactly correspond either with the English "valley," or "meadow;" the Dutch appellation would be perhaps more accurately rendered as "the Smith's Flats." As to the origin of the name, nothing is accurately known. Mr. D. T. Valentine, and a host of others following him, have stated that the place received its name from Cornelis Clopper, a blacksmith who in 1660 acquired a parcel of ground at the northwest corner of Maiden Lane and Pearl Street; but a more careful examination would have shown them that the locality is spoken of by the same name nearly twenty years before that date, — as early as 1641.

The land along the East River, from Tymen Jansen's garden, as far as Maiden Lane, seems to have been originally acquired by Hendrick Jansen, the tailor, Director-General

Kieft's antagonist.¹ He was certainly located there as early as 1639, and had apparently about two acres of ground under cultivation. His house, according to the results of a careful collation of many deeds and other historical material, seems to have stood very near Maagde Paetje, or Maiden Lane, and to have occupied in part the site of the present building, No. 195 Pearl Street. In the Seutter View (so-called) of New Amsterdam, or New York, and in two or three others which are substantially the same view, though bearing different names, we have a representation, as of about the year 1667, of the buildings along the East River shore, from the present Wall Street to Maiden Lane. These buildings were isolated, and plainly in the sight of the draughtsman, and are not open to the same imputations of inaccuracy as are several other portions of these views. From the views, the Hendrick Jansen house appears to have been a small building of the usual Dutch farmhouse type. Like most of such buildings, outside of the more thickly settled districts, it stood with its broadside to the street, towards which its thatched roof sloped.²

In August, 1641, Jansen sold a part of his property here, being his "house, barn, barrack, and arable land," for 2500 guilders, or about \$1000, to a man who afterwards took a prominent though brief part in the history of the Colony, — Maryn Adriaensen. Upon the premises there seems to have been the quite common appurtenance of a small brew-house, and this, with its apparatus, Jansen retained, agreeing to remove the same, — which he probably did to the western portion of his original plot, where he seems to have built a new house for himself; but this, too, in November, 1642, he sold to one Willem Adriaensen, describing the property then as his "garden, dwelling, and brew-house."

¹ See *ante*, page 229, etc.

² Just adjoining this house, at the corner of Maiden Lane, there stood, as shown upon the view, another building with its gable end towards Pearl Street. This was a house which had been very recently built, upon a narrow lot running along the side of Maiden Lane; the lot had been acquired in 1666 by Pieter Jansen, a ship carpenter. At the time of our survey, however, this space was not occupied by any building.

Upon this latter sale, which was for an equal consideration with that of the former parcel, — namely, 2500 Carolus guilders, — it was stipulated with great care “that 24 guilders for drink on the bargain shall be contributed by the seller alone without charging any part to the purchasers.” This appropriation of 24 guilders, or nearly \$10, for “drink on the bargain,” — being about one per cent on the purchase price of the property, — shows that the sale of a piece of New Amsterdam real estate was considered, in the middle of the seventeenth century, to be an occasion of great dignity and importance.

Of Willem Adriaensen, the purchaser of this property, we have but little information; he is said to have been a cooper by trade, and to have had lands upon Long Island. When, or in what manner he parted with his property here in the Smits Vly we do not know; but within six or seven years after Willem Adriaensen's purchase, we find the premises in the possession of one of the most interesting characters of New Amsterdam, — of Augustyn Heermans, soldier, scholar, artist, merchant, land-surveyor, speculator, and manorial proprietor.¹ Heermans was a native of Bohemia, and was born about the year 1608, in the city of Prague, where his father, Ephraim Augustyn Heermans, was one of the members of the city council. In the old Bohemian capital, surrounded by vine-clad hills, life passed uneventfully enough, no doubt, for the young Augustyn, till he was about ten years of age, — then, the memorable year 1618 came on, and during the next fifteen years he must have witnessed many of the most stirring events of the great epoch known as the Thirty Years' War, of which Prague was the very cradle. As a bright, adventure-loving boy, he must have gazed with a lively curiosity upon the historic window in the old palace of Prague, from which, in the year named, the German Em-

¹ Many interesting facts respecting Augustyn Heermans have been brought out recently in a paper, written for the Maryland Historical Society by General James G. Wilson, upon Heermans' “Manor of Bohemia,” in Maryland. From it several of the particulars given in the text are drawn.

peror's commissioners and their secretary were thrown into the castle-trench by the enraged Protestant deputies of the estates of Bohemia, and upon the heap of litter which wonderfully enabled them to escape death in their eighty feet fall. Soon afterwards he must have seen the streets of the capital filled with troops from all parts of Bohemia, now urged irrevocably into rebellion against their Austrian, Roman Catholic ruler Matthias, the head of the German Empire; a little later, perhaps, he may have watched them march through the Horse Market and Gate, and into the Vienna Road, under their bold leader, Count Thurn, to besiege the emperor in his capital itself.

So, too, he must have seen Prague ablaze with enthusiasm and with gayety over the coronation of the king whom the Bohemian estates had chosen, Frederic, Count Palatine of the Rhine, and of his queen, the beautiful Princess Elizabeth of England. Then came a change; on the afternoon of the 8th of November, 1620, all Prague was shaken by the thunder of the cannon from the White Mountain, three miles west of the city, where eighty thousand men were engaged in combat. Among the spectators who crowded the house-tops and the walls, may well have been the young Heermans, who from thence could have seen the Bohemian army melt away, in the course of an hour or so, before the troops of the emperor, leaving the mountain-sides and plateau black with the bodies of more than four thousand slain.

Dark days followed in Prague; the short-reigned king, Frederic, and his household fled by night; the city was surrendered to the emperor without opposition; a few months of inaction were allowed to supervene, in order to draw back to Prague the escaped Protestant leaders; then the net was sprung, and the boy Heermans could hear the death-bell tolling daily for executions of the condemned rebels; while the famous Karlsbrücke over the Moldau, so captivating to a boy of twelve or thirteen, where the river lay with its lake-like waters and green, willowed islands, was now a place to be shunned, — for above it was fixed a long row of the

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AUGUSTINE HEERMANS.

From the portrait by himself on his "Map of Maryland," British Museum.

mouldering heads of the principal men of Prague and of Bohemia. If Augustyn Heermans' family did not itself suffer at this time, it must have been fortunate, for it belonged undoubtedly to the Protestant faction, which had been previously strong in Prague. However this may have been, the victorious Romanist party carried matters with a hard hand, and times grew worse and worse for the vanquished Protestants, till in 1627 they were given the last alternative of either abandoning their religion or their country.

During these gloomy times, young Augustyn Heermans, now growing up to manhood, must have often seen in the streets of Prague a tall, thin man with stubby red hair and small sparkling eyes, and with a stern and somewhat abstracted air, for whom people already made way with a respectful awe. This person was Count Albert von Wallenstein,¹ known then as a man of consummate military abilities, who was high in favor with the Emperor, and who had been enriched with scores of the confiscated estates of the Bohemian nobles. His princely ostentation, leadership of huge armies, and his vast and obscure designs, which alarmed the German court, and which led alike to Wallenstein's tragical end and to his enshrinement in Romance and in Poetry, were yet in the future.

It was about in the year 1625 that Wallenstein disclosed his design of forming a great army for the service of the harassed emperor, whose rebellious Protestant states were now assisted by various foreign countries; this army was to be raised and partly maintained at Wallenstein's own expense, but principally by exactions upon the Protestant territories. The plan was soon afterwards carried into effect; and among those who entered the service of the great leader was Augustyn Heermans. Whether necessity led to his thus entering a service which in some respects is not likely to have been congenial to him we cannot tell. He is said to

¹ More strictly Waldstein; the other appellation has been appropriated, however, by history and by poetry.

have served in Wallenstein's army through several campaigns, and was present at that general's defeat by the Swedes, in November, 1632, at the battle of Lutzen, in which the head of the Protestant cause, the great Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, lost his life.

It was perhaps during the temporary breaking up of Wallenstein's army after the battle of Lutzen, that Heermans found an opportunity of leaving the service and of coming to America. He is said to have come over as the clerk, or agent of the firm of Gabry and Sons, merchants at Amsterdam,¹ and was certainly for many years their factor at New Amsterdam. Though he had grown up in a distracted period, he seems to have been a man of considerable attainments, and is said, in addition to his own Bohemian, to have had some acquaintance with the Latin, German, English, Dutch, French, and Spanish languages, — one or two of these, indeed, he may have picked up in Wallenstein's polyglot army.

Soon after Heermans' arrival in New Netherland, and in the course of the year 1633, he seems to have been despatched to the Dutch settlements on the South, or Delaware River, and while there he was present and a witness, at the purchase by one Arent Coersen from the Indians of a tract of land near the mouth of the Schuylkill River, which land is supposed to have extended very near to, if it did not actually include, the site of the present city of Philadelphia. Augustyn Heermans now, for a number of years, appears to have remained quietly at New Amsterdam, attending to the mercantile concerns of his principals. Probably before the year 1651 he had built a large brick storehouse upon Pearl Street between the old church and the fort. This, in its day, was one of the most substantial buildings in the town;² it occupied a site, upon which there is reason to believe had previously stood, for a number of years, a smaller storehouse of the Gabrys; and the

¹ See additional particulars respecting Heermans, *ante*, page 53, etc.

² Its value was appraised in 1653 as 8500 guilders, or 3400 dollars of the present currency.

larger building appears to have been only held in trust for that firm by Heermans. A short time before this period, or about in the year 1647, Heermans had acquired a plot of something over an acre of ground, lying just north of Burger Jorissen's land in Hanover Square; it was an interior parcel, to which access was had through the narrow lane called the "Slyck Steegh," previously described.¹ It was leased and used for garden purposes for many years by Allard Anthony, but after the opening of Smith (or the present William) Street, which intersected it, it was sold off in lots by Heermans about the year 1660.

In the mean time, prior to 1649, Heermans had become possessed in some uncertain way, as above stated, of the western portion of the land of Hendrick Jansen, the tailor, in the Smits Vly, and of the house built by the latter thereon, about the years 1641-42, and which he had sold to Willem Adriaensen. This property contained about two hundred feet frontage along the river, and was something over that distance in depth, so that it comprised about an acre of ground; its rear portion was occupied by the orchard which Hendrick Jansen had planted, which extended back as far as the slopes of Jan Damen's hillside pasture, known as the Claaver Weytie, or the Clover Field.²

Not being a man of family at this time, it is possible that Heermans did not as yet occupy the place in Smits Vly himself, though, like many others in the settlement, he may have had a slave establishment.³ Heermans was, in fact, a man of more than forty years of age when, in December, 1650, he married Janneken Verlett, of Utrecht in the Netherlands; she is supposed to have been the daughter of Nicolaes

¹ See *ante*, page 152.

² The Claaver Weytie extended about to the present William Street westerly. As for the land of Heermans here, it was bisected by the present Pine (then called Tienhoven or King's Street) many years after our survey, — about in the year 1689.

³ A well-known negro about the town known as Jan Augustinus, or "Augustyn's John," may quite possibly have been a freedman of Augustyn Heermans.

Verlett, a widower, who afterwards married Madame Anna Bayard, Director Stuyvesant's widowed sister.

After his marriage, Augustyn Heermans' residence was undoubtedly at the house in the Smits Vly; in the course of the next few years he seems to have built a larger house upon the west side of the original one; and the two buildings are shown, standing gable end to the road in the Seutter View; they would appear to have stood a short distance back from the highway. What Heermans calls his "great house" must have occupied a good portion of the site of the present warehouse, No. 175 Pearl Street, while the older structure stood partly upon the site of the building, No. 177, and partly upon that of No. 179.

Here Augustyn Heermans spent the last ten or twelve years of his residence in New Amsterdam. Fronted by the shingly beach of the East River, and backed by its orchard and the hillside, the place was a quiet haven where its proprietor often, no doubt, found opportunities to contrast the prevailing calm with the turbulent experiences of his early life. All traces of the locality as it was in Heermans' day have long passed away, however; and he must live largely in imagination who can find in the dark street and melancholy warehouses, and clattering trains of the elevated railway overhead, anything to remind him that here Augustyn Heermans, awakened on a summer morning by the carolling of the robins in his orchard, could look from his windows upon the early mist covering the East River, and call to mind, perhaps, a foggy morning, a quarter of a century before, when he with twenty thousand of his comrades stood under arms, and through the mists which covered the village and plain of Lutzen, on the day of the great battle, heard the Saxon troops of Gustavus Adolphus singing:—

"Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott,
Ein gute Wehr und Waffen."

Augustyn Heermans' political experiences in New Amsterdam were not, however, entirely tranquil. In 1649 he had

joined in the opposition to the colonial policy of the West India Company; and as one of "the Nine Men," so-called, his name headed the signers of the historic document known as the "Vertoogh," or "Remonstrance," to the States-General, prepared by Adriaen van der Donck in that year. In this paper, Stuyvesant and his secretary, Van Tienhoven, were handled without gloves, and its signers had plenty of trouble to look for from their malicious adversaries in the colonial government; most of them got it, too, and Heermans was placed under arrest by the Director-General for refusing to produce documents which had circulated amongst him and his associates. Between Heermans and Van Tienhoven, too, there was but little love lost: "That infernal swaggerer Tienhoven," Heermans writes, in September, 1651, to Adriaen van der Donck, "has returned here, and put the country in a blaze." Van Tienhoven, as there is every reason to believe, had also lighted a small private fire of his own against Augustyn Heermans, for he had scarcely returned from the Netherlands, when the merchants John and Charles Gabry at Amsterdam presented a petition to the States-General, praying that Augustyn Heermans, their factor at New Amsterdam, might be ordered to render to them an account of his transactions there. Van Tienhoven's insinuations, however, if such there had been, do not seem to have produced any very permanent effect, for we find that the connection between the Gabrys and their factor continued apparently for many years longer.

About this same time, too, in the year 1652, Heermans appears to have been made the victim of a despicable trick in which the Secretary's hand is more apparent. Heermans, and a companion, being upon the point of making a journey to New England, in the spring of that year, were, it seems, approached by George Baxter, ensign of the garrison, who gave them a letter to be delivered to Governor William Coddington, of Rhode Island. This letter, apparently by some prearrangement, was taken from the travellers in Rhode Island, and was opened before the General Court, or

Assembly, when it was found to contain an offer purporting to come from Director-General Stuyvesant, to send Governor Coddington some soldiers to be employed against the inhabitants of Rhode Island. The irritated Rhode Islanders immediately placed Heermans and his companion under arrest for a treasonable conspiracy against their government. They were held to bail in the sum of 100 pounds sterling till they should prove their innocence; and it was only with the greatest difficulty that they succeeded in procuring a certificate from the Council at New Amsterdam of their ignorance of the contents of the letter.

The difficulties between Heermans and the colonial administration seem to have been smoothed over, for a time at least, and in 1659 we find Director-General Stuyvesant sending Heermans and one Resolved Waldron, as a deputation to visit the Governor of Maryland, in order to establish, if possible, an agreement respecting the boundaries of that colony, and those of the Dutch settlements along the Delaware; the appointment may, indeed, have been somewhat ungraciously given by the Director-General, and may have been largely owing to the fact that Heermans' linguistic and general business talents, together with an acquaintance with the science of land-surveying which he possessed, rendered him perhaps the most fit person in the Colony for this business.¹

¹ As Heermans must have been quite young when he entered the military service of Wallenstein, and as there seems to be no reason for supposing that he was engaged in the pursuit of land-surveying at any time in New Netherland, there is perhaps reason to conjecture that he may have been attached to the engineer corps of Wallenstein's army. That he possessed some artistic talents, and that he was the draughtsman of the valuable view of New Amsterdam, of about the year 1651 or 1652, which has been already spoken of as the "Visscher View," and which in a less finished form is to be found in the second edition of his friend Adriaen van der Donck's "*Beschrijving van Nieuw Nederland*," is reasonably well known. It is a curious fact in this connection that Wenceslas Hollar, the great artist and topographical illustrator of London, whose sketches are now of such value, and who was a contemporary of Augustyn Heermans, was likewise a native of Prague in Bohemia, and, like Heermans, he seems to have always retained much pride in the place of his nativity. In his views of "London before and after the Great Fire" of 1666, in the writer's possession,

Heermans' journal of this expedition is still extant,¹ and describes with considerable minuteness the progress of the commissioners with their party of soldiers and guides. They travelled on foot and by canoe through the forests for several days, and at Patuxent, in the Maryland district, they had an interview of several days with Governor Fendall, of the Colony, and with Philip Calvert, son of Lord Baltimore, the proprietor, who was then Secretary of the province, and who afterwards succeeded his father in the title and in the proprietorship of the Colony. From this point Heermans sailed down the Chesapeake Bay, and had an interview with the Governor of Virginia, and upon his return from the latter province he again stopped for a season in Maryland. In his journey through the forests between the Delaware and the Susquehanna rivers, he had received a favorable impression of the country; and now learning that the proprietor of Maryland was laboring under many disadvantages from the want of an accurate map of his territories, Heermans placed himself in communication with Lord Baltimore, offering to make a survey and map of the entire province, in consideration of a manorial grant to himself. This proposition was accepted by Lord Baltimore, and Heermans soon entered upon the work of his survey, which occupied him for about ten years.² For this work he received a grant of about thirty thousand acres in the present Cecil County, Maryland, and in its vicinity. To this tract, part of which he named the "Manor of Nova Bohemia," he appears to have removed his household from New Amsterdam about the year 1662, in which year, on the 19th of June, he received his first patent from Lord Baltimore.³ Here, upon a stream which he called

these sketches, wonderful in their mastery of topographical details, and executed at a period when for twenty years of his life the artist had been engaged upon English subjects, appear as of "W. Hollar, of Prague, Bohemia."

¹ See same in Vol. II., N. Y. Colonial Documents.

² His large map of Maryland was published by Faithorne at London, about 1670; a copy is preserved in the British Museum. It is spoken of in the highest terms by contemporaries.

³ General Wilson, in his historical sketch, says that Heermans removed from

the Bohemia River, near the head of Chesapeake Bay, Heermans erected his manor house, and here for many years he continued to reside upon his estate with considerable dignity. "He was the most important personage in that part of the Colony," says General Wilson, in the paper to which reference has been made, "driving in his coach and four, with liveried servants; and with a large deer park, the walls of which are still (1889) standing. His estate abounded in game, and both he and his sons were fond of shooting and of fox-hunting." He and all his family were naturalized as English subjects about 1666, and from time to time during the remainder of his life he was engaged in considerable public business, and is said to have held correspondence with many of the most conspicuous men of that period of colonial history.

Heermans died in 1686: "his monumental stone," says General Wilson, "is still to be seen on his manor. . . . It contains the following inscription:—

AUGUSTINE HERMAN, BOHEMIAN,
THE FIRST FOUNDER &
SEATER OF BOHEMIA MANOR
ANNO 1661."

The name became extinct in 1739, but it is understood that the female line still continues. The old Bohemia Manor House was burned in 1815, and with it are said to have been destroyed many valuable paintings, documents, and historical mementos.

Prior to his removal to Maryland, Augustyn Heermans had acquired interests in several tracts of considerable size on Manhattan Island, but these he gradually disposed of to different purchasers. His former residence in the Smits Vly

New Amsterdam in 1661. It will be found, however, that his youngest daughter, Francina, was baptized in the Dutch Church at New Amsterdam, on the 12th of March, 1662. The dates of baptism of his other children were as follows: Ephraim Georgius, September 1, 1652; Casparus, January 2, 1656; Anna Margareta, March 10, 1658; and Judith, May 9, 1660.

remained in the occupation of various tenants till 1672, when he sold the eastern portion of his land, with the buildings, to Captain John Paine, of Boston, but the latter had hardly taken possession when New York was captured by the Dutch, and Paine's property was confiscated. The buildings, with a number of others, were now condemned and demolished, on account of their standing too near the line of fortifications; and though Heermans recovered his land by reason of a mortgage which he held upon it, it was bereft of most of its value, and he closed out finally his interests here by selling the western portion of the plot in 1676 to George Heathcote, and the eastern part in 1678 to Jan Jansen Slot.

We next reach, in proceeding along the Smits Vly, the old Dutch house situated in a large garden near the southwest corner of the present Maiden Lane and Pearl Street, occupied at the time of our survey by Lysbet Tyssens. This building, of which mention has been previously made (*ante*, page 280), was originally the house of Hendrick Jansen, the tailor, and was purchased from him in August, 1641, by Maryn Adriaensen, the husband of Lysbet Tyssens.

As Augustyn Heermans came from a locality identified with the origin of the Thirty Years' War, so Maryn Adriaensen came from a place in like manner identified with another great episode of history, — the struggle for independence of the United Netherlands. He was born (as is supposed) at Veere, — "the Ferry," — upon the north coast of the island of Walcheren, in the province of Zeeland; and two generations before, his grandfather may well have been one of the "Gueux," or "Sea-beggars," who, from Veere and from the neighboring town of Vlissingen, or Flushing, roamed the seas, preying upon the commerce of their Spanish masters and oppressors, till in 1572 — having had the ports of England closed against them — they took by storm from the Spaniards the neighboring seaport of Briel, which they made the seat of their naval power, and thus laid the foundation-stone of the Confederacy of the Provinces of the Nether-

lands. Rough and coarse, but brave, and passionately devoted to the house of Orange, they made for themselves and for their "land of sluices" a name in History and Romance; and their stern and somewhat truculent bearing, their contempt of show and ostentation, their long swords, cropped hair, and scarred faces live in Freiligrath's verse:

"Dann rühren die da schliefen längst,
Im Grabe sich die Geusen.

"Sie steigen auf, eine wilde Schaar,
Im Kleid von düstrer Farbe,
Mit langem Schwert, und kurzem Haar
Und auf der Stirn die Narbe."

Maryn Adriaensen was one of the earliest colonists of New Netherland, having come to Fort Orange, or Albany, in 1631. Here he had a house which in 1642, shortly after his removal to New Amsterdam, he sold to Dominie Johannes Megapolensis, then recently installed as pastor at Fort Orange. Upon taking up his residence in the Smits Vly at New Amsterdam in the summer of 1641, Adriaensen seems to have become rather closely associated with his well-to-do neighbor Jan Jansen Damen, whose farm adjoined the rear of his own plot upon the west. He was perhaps in some sort a dependant of Damen, the latter having loaned him 1000 guilders upon the purchase of his house in the Smits Vly. He formed one of the party at Jan Damen's farmhouse near Broadway, at the famous "Shrovetide dinner," in 1643, at which, according to popular belief, the massacre of the Indians was planned by Director-General Kieft, with Damen and the two sons-in-law of the latter, Cornelis van Tienhoven, the secretary, and Abraham Verplanck.¹ It is at any rate certain that Adriaensen with Jan Damen and Verplanck were either signers of the remarkable document prepared about this time, and entered on the Council Minutes, calling, in the name of the whole community, for the murder of the Indians, or else their names were affixed to it by Van Tien-

¹ See *ante*, page 102.

hoven himself.¹ Whether Maryn Adriaensen had full knowledge of this business, or whether he was in a condition at the time not to know much of anything, he has the unenviable distinction of heading the petition, and of receiving the license to commit murder granted thereon by Director-General Kieft.² When, in the course of a few days after the slaughter of the Indians, the smoke of burning farmhouses and the reports of massacres of the colonists by the natives had shown Kieft that his great scheme had miscarried, he promptly set about carrying out a further part of his plan; namely, that of shifting the blame from his own shoulders to those of his previously selected scapegoats. He accordingly issued a sort of manifesto of which the following is a portion:—

“Some persons, delegated by the people, petitioned us to be allowed to take revenge while those savages were within our reach, apparently delivered in our hands by Divine Providence. We entertained an aversion to bring the country into a condition of uproar, and pointed out to those persons the consequences to result from their design, particularly with regard to those whose dwellings were situated in exposed places, as our forces were too few to attempt to defend every house with a sufficient number of soldiers, and we also presented to them other considerations. They, however, persisted in their desire, and told us that if we refused our consent, the blood would come upon our own heads, and we finally found ourselves obliged to accede to their wishes and give them the assistance of our soldiers. And these latter killed a considerable number, as did also the militia on their side,” etc.

Maryn Adriaensen was no lamb to be led quietly to the slaughter in this manner; on the contrary, he was a man of a bold and violent disposition, like his ancestors, the Flemish sea-rovers. He had, in fact, hardly taken up his residence in New Amsterdam when he fell into trouble, from a practice

¹ See the petition, *ante*, page 103.

² This latter document, with its curious mixture of violence, craft, and blasphemy, is set forth upon page 23, *ante*.

he had, in violation of the ordinances, of sailing out in his cat-boat to meet incoming vessels before they were boarded by the official sloop of the West India Company; and it was perhaps in connection with this same business that he was charged by the fiscal with having drawn a knife upon some person with whom he had a quarrel.

When Adriaensen heard that the Director-General was attempting to unload the responsibility for the Indian massacre mainly upon his shoulders, his rage knew no bounds, and he immediately started out to have satisfaction from Kieft. On the 21st of March, 1643, Robert Penoyer, a young man who was doubtless one of the English soldiers in the garrison and off duty, being "in the tavern,"—probably either "the Great Tavern" upon the shore, or Philip Geraerdy's tavern on the Marckveldt,—saw Lysbet Tyssens, Maryn Adriaensen's wife, enter the tavern in a state of great perturbation, crying that "her husband would kill the commander. Go and catch him!" Penoyer thereupon made his way into the fort, and into the Director's house, where he found Adriaensen with a pistol cocked, advancing upon the Director-General, and crying, "What devilish lies are these you are telling of me?" Some person present, however, seized Maryn's pistol, while Penoyer took his sword from him, and he was immediately placed under arrest. Within a short time, however, a serving-man of Adriaensen, one Jacob Slangh, appeared at the fort to avenge his master, and fired a pistol at the Director-General, but without effect. Slangh was thereupon fired on and killed by a sentry in the fort, and his head was afterwards affixed to a gibbet.

As for Adriaensen, his cause was warmly espoused by many of the principal men of the Colony, among others by Dominie Bogardus,¹ and in the excited state of public opinion, it was

¹ "Then you embraced the cause of that criminal, composed his writings, and took upon yourself to defend him. But nevertheless he was sent in chains to Holland, on which account you audaciously fulminated on the subject during a fortnight, and dishonored the pulpit by your passionate behaviour."

(Kieft to Dominie Bogardus, 2 January, 1646.)

deemed prudent by the Council to send him to the Netherlands for trial. We are not informed of the proceedings, if any, which took place in the Netherlands in relation to the case of Maryn Adriaensen. Mr. D. T. Valentine has found evidence that he returned subsequently to New Amsterdam. If this were so, he took no prominent part in any matters, and he must have died before 1654, for in that year his widow Lysbet Tyssens married Gerloff Michielsens of Col-lumer Zyll, in Friesland; but he having been killed by the Indians within a short time, she went to reside with a married daughter at Fort Orange, or Albany. Lysbet, who was from Alémaer in North Holland, seems to have been a woman of considerable business ability. After her husband's imprisonment she took charge of his property in the Smits Vly, and before the spring of 1644 she had sold a considerable portion of it to Jan Jansen Damen, partly, no doubt, in extinguishment of the mortgage he held upon the premises. The parcel sold to Damen was thrown by him into his well-known "Claaver Weytie," or "Clover Pasture." Lysbet retained the house, with about half an acre of land, at the corner of Maagde Paetje, or Maiden Lane, afterwards increasing her land by purchase. After the deportation of her husband, and later, after his death, she appears to have resided upon the premises at times, but at other periods it was in the occupation of various tenants. Lysbet Tyssens was still living and in possession of the property as late as 1682, about which time she sold off several lots from her garden at this place. She had a son, Tys Marynsen, who was a small boy at the time of his father's attack upon Kieft, but we have no further information respecting him, and do not know whether he reached maturity.

CHAPTER XXI

THE MAAGDE PAETJE, OR MAIDEN LANE. — SKIPPER CORNELISSEN. — FREDERIK LUBBERTSEN AND HIS HOUSE. — JAN AND MARY PEECK. — SANDER LEENDERTSEN'S HOUSE. — JAN VINJE, THE FIRST WHITE CHILD BORN IN NEW NETHERLAND. — VINJE'S BREWERY

THERE is, perhaps, as much about the modern Maiden Lane to remind one of the early times of New Amsterdam as will be found in any locality of New York at the present day. Standing at the corner of Pearl Street and Maiden Lane, and looking in the direction of Broadway past the dark opening in the tall houses which marks the entrance of Liberty Street, — the historic Crown Street of the eighteenth century, the name of which was changed at the close of the Revolutionary War by the somewhat hysterical New Yorkers of the period, because they thought they saw a sort of profanation in the word "Crown," — the observer notices before him, curving away to the right between high and dingy stores and warehouses, the same Maagde Paetje, or Maidens' Path, only somewhat wider than of yore, which Lysbet Tyssens and Frederik Lubbertsen, from their respective dwellings at the opposite corners of these same two streets, saw, in the middle of the seventeenth century, winding through its hollow, between the trees and bushes which lined the fence rows of Jan Damen's and of Cornelis van Tienhoven's farms on either side of it.

As he passes through Gold, or William, or Nassau streets too, the same observer will see before him the very ravine or depression, though not so deep as of old, through which the first wood-cutters of New Amsterdam traced their



LOOKING UP MAIDEN LANE FROM PEARL STREET.

path down to the East River shore. In the middle of the seventeenth century it was doubtless like hundreds of similar low-lying farm lanes of the present day, where the outcasts of the forests — dogwoods and elder bushes, sumachs and witch-hazels — collect along the hedges, and are overhung by cat-briers and bitter-sweet vines, woodbine and the wild grape. Towards the shore, near the present Gold Street, was a wet spot at the foot of Van Tienhoven's hill pasture called "Gouwenberg" (where, near the close of the seventeenth century, tan-yards were established), and here, in the springy ground, the arads, first harbingers of the vernal season, made their appearance, pushing through the wet soil with their gorgeous purple, red, and black hoods, and their coarse leaves of pale green. Here the water collected into a small rill, and ran down along the lane into the East River through a channel likely enough covered, as such rills are apt to be, in the late summer by the green and yellow masses of the jewel-weed, and thickly bordered by mint and tansy.

What gave this by-lane the name of the Maagde Paetje, or Maidens' Path, by which it was known in the town from the earliest days, we can only conjecture. Was it in honor of Maria, Christina, and Rachel, the three stepdaughters of Jan Damen, who must have resided on the adjoining farm with their own father, Guillaume Vigne (or Willem Vinje, as his Dutch neighbors put it), at the time of the very first advance of settlers from the traders' cabins at the Blockhouse into Manhattan Island? We do not know; but certain it is that the lane was and is Maiden Lane,¹ — a historic name worth a hundred times the meaningless "Pine," "Cedar," and "Liberty" streets in its vicinity.

Provision seems to have been first made for the care of this lane (which appears at the time to have been mainly used

¹ Towards the close of the seventeenth century, about the time that streets were being laid out through the adjoining Damen farm, the old lane was occasionally spoken of as "The Green Lane." This name never became popular, however, and was eventually fixed upon the small street west of the present Nassau Street, and extending from Liberty Street to Maiden Lane; this is sometimes called Liberty Place at the present day.

by Secretary Van Tienhoven for access to parts of his farm upon the north side of it) in the ground-brief of September 7, 1641, to Lourens Cornelissen, for the parcel of ground at the northwest corner of Pearl Street and Maiden Lane; "with the express condition that the said Lourens Cornelissen shall repair the road leading from the farm of Cornelis van Tienhoven to the beach, fit for the use of wagons, and when once repaired, at the cost of the aforesaid Lourens Cornelissen, it shall henceforth and forever be maintained and kept up by said L. Cornelissen and Cornelis van Tienhoven, half and half." At the time of our survey, the Maagde Paetje had lost part of its rural character. This was owing principally to the erection of a brewery upon it several years before by Jan Damen. This building appears to have stood on the south side of the lane, and at the foot of the hill pasture called the Claaver Weytie, where the water supply was abundant. The position of this building would seem to have been about sixty feet east of the present William Street. It had been managed for several years by Jan Vinje, the stepson of Jan Damen, but in 1658, some seven years after the death of the latter, the heirs of the estate sold the brewery with nearly half an acre of ground for 1375 guilders (\$550) to one Anthony Moore, and it then, in the course of several years, passed through various hands, eventually coming again into the possession of Jan Vinje. This latter personage was for a long time engaged in the brewing business upon the modern Pearl Street near Platt, and although the period was several years after the date of our survey, some reference will be made to him in speaking of the latter locality.

At the northwestern angle of Maiden Lane and Pearl Street stood a house, erected probably in 1641 or 1642 by Captain Lourens Cornelissen Vanderwel, who, in documents executed by himself, bears the imposing designation of "Skipper under God of the ship the 'Angel Gabriel,' of about one hundred lasts burden." The skipper owned about an acre of ground here, stretching back some two hundred and fifty feet to the foot of the "Gouwenberg" of Secretary Van



VIEW OF GOLD STREET.

Looking towards Maiden Lane. The ancient "Golden Hill."

Tienhoven's farm. The ground at this, the widest part of the Smits Vly, seems to have been pretty wet, and the skipper had to establish a broad trench through his garden, about on the line between the present buildings Nos. 205 and 207 Pearl Street, and probably another one upon the east side of his plot, between the buildings Nos. 219 and 221.

Of Captain Cornelissen we have not much information. In his blustering letter of January 2, 1646, to Dominie Bogardus, already alluded to,¹ Director-General Kieft says: "when, however, in 1644, one Lourens Cornelissen was here, a man of profligate character, who had violated his oath, had committed perjury and theft, he was taken under your patronage, and you were in daily correspondence with him, for the reason merely that he had slandered the Director." The gist of Cornelissen's offence, however, being evidently the fact that he had spoken against Kieft, it is perhaps fair to look upon the rest of the accusation, coupled as it is with the somewhat inconsistent charge of much intimacy with a minister of the gospel, as rather in the nature of a testimonial of good character than otherwise, especially in view of the source from whence it came.

However, Skipper Lourens did not long retain his house in the Smits Vly, for in the spring of 1643, he sold it, with about half an acre of the ground, for the sum of 1600 guilders, or about \$640 of the present currency, to Frederik Lubbertsen, who was the owner and probably the occupant at the time of our survey. Lubbertsen, who was a man of about forty years of age at the time of his purchase of this property, had come from Amsterdam, with his wife Styntje and a daughter Rebecca. In 1640, he had received a grant from the Dutch authorities of a large tract of land at Gouwanus on Long Island; and it seems probable that from his residence on Manhattan Island, he devoted his time to its clearing and cultivation, as one of the appurtenances of his house in the Smits Vly was an oven, which he stipulated should be built capable of baking at one time the equivalent

¹ See *ante*, page 294, note.

in flour of about a bushel and a half of grain, a fact indicative of the presence of a considerable force of work-hands, perhaps slaves, who doubtless manned his farm-boat daily for many years. His Long Island possessions were in plain view from his house at the foot of the Maagde Paetje. Looking to his left across the East River, he could see, in the direction of the Wallabout, his timber land, a tract of about thirty acres of magnificent forest trees, some of which were still landmarks far into the next century;¹ it covered the high ground near the foot of the present Bridge and Jay streets in Brooklyn.

About a mile to the right, down the East River, beyond the high sand bluffs forming what are now known as the Brooklyn Heights, lay the large tract acquired by Lubbertsen in 1640. This extended from about the foot of the present Atlantic Avenue, in Brooklyn, nearly a mile along the shore, and it ran back from the shore an almost equal distance. A large part of it was a region of salt meadows, interspersed with ponds and tidal creeks and with small wooded islands and sand banks, — the last deposits of the retreating glaciers.² Beyond this low tract, however, the ground rose into swelling hills, long cleared and occupied by the Indians as "maize land," of which Lubbertsen's grant contained a considerable share.

Prior to the year 1657, Frederik Lubbertsen had become a widower; his daughter Rebecca, too, had left him some eight or nine years before that time, marrying Jacob Leendertsen van der Grift and taking up her residence in a house upon the east side of Broadway, conveyed to her by her father. About the date named, we find Lubbertsen marrying for his second wife Tryntje Hendrickse, widow of Cornelis Pietersen, one of the earlier settlers. It was about this time that Lubbertsen, doubtless with the view of establishing himself upon his Long Island farm,³ sold his house in the Smits

¹ A great tulip or whitewood tree, which stood upon the bluff near the shore, was known far and wide and is shown on several maps of the eighteenth century.

² The tract is now in part occupied by the Atlantic Basin, so called.

³ Soon after the sale of the Smits Vly property, Lubbertsen seems to have

Vly to Jan Peeck, an eccentric character, part Indian trader, part broker between the English and Dutch merchants, and part general speculator.¹ His wife, Maria or Mary, managed his property, and sometimes disposed of it in his long absences. She seems also to have occasionally accompanied him on his trading expeditions, where apparently she acquired considerable acquaintance with the Indians, which she turned to advantage by selling them liquor, to the great indignation of the authorities at New Amsterdam, who, in 1664, fined her 500 guilders, and banished her from Manhattan Island for this offence, "for which," as they say, "she has long been famous." She is said, at this time, to have retired to the new settlement of Schenectady for a short period; but the Dutch régime coming to an end not long after her banishment, she soon returned to New York, and was the owner of a house on Hoogh Straet (or Duke's Street, as the English began to call it), near the Town Hall, having in the mean time sold the establishment in the Smits Vly.²

The easternmost half of his land in the Smits Vly had been sold by Frederik Lubbertsen, in 1652, to one Albert Cornelissen; it does not appear to have been built upon at the time of our survey, and in 1656 most of it came into the

built a farmhouse near the East River shore upon his Long Island farm. This stood not far from the foot of the present Pacific Street in Brooklyn. Here Lubbertsen resided for many years, and here he died, an aged man, in the latter part of the seventeenth century. His large plantation here was divided between his two daughters, by his second wife: Aeltje, who married Cornelis Sebring, and Elsje, wife of Jacob Hansen Bergen; their descendants are still to be found in Brooklyn.

¹ It was this Jan Peeck who, by reason of his making use, as a trading post for traffic with the Indians, of the sheltered haven afforded by the creek emptying into the Hudson River just south of the mountains of the Highlands (even wintering there with his sloop), gave the stream the name of Jan Peeck's Kill, which name is preserved in that of the adjacent village of Peekskill in Westchester County.

² She is thought to have been the person occasionally spoken of in the records about this time as "Long Mary," though this is not accurately known. She was either the daughter or sister of Philip du Trieux (or De Truy, as the Dutch called him). After some vicissitudes in her life, she is supposed to have married Cornelis Volekersen, one of the oldest settlers, and after his death, in 1650, she married Jan Peeck.

possession of Jan Peeck, still apparently unbuilt upon. After Peeck had sold to Cornelis Clopper, in the year 1660, the Lubbertsen house, at the corner of Maiden Lane, which has just been referred to, he seems to have built a house upon the plot which he had acquired from Albert Cornelissen, and this remained in possession of him and of his wife for many years. This house, which must have occupied the site, or a part of the site of the present building No. 207 Pearl Street, was just about sufficiently removed from the observation of the town authorities to afford a convenient drinking house for Indian visitors to New Amsterdam, and it is supposed to have been the seat of the illicit liquor traffic for which Mary Peeck was banished from Manhattan Island in 1664.

Next adjoining upon the north to the apparently vacant plot of Albert Cornelissen in the Smits Vly, stood in 1655 a house with about half an acre of ground, belonging to an individual who was a *rara avis* in New Amsterdam, a thoroughly Teutonized Scotchman, as much of a curiosity in his way as was the Teutonized Englishman, Carel van Brügge, already spoken of. This person's appellation among his neighbors was the good honest Dutch name of Sander Leendertsen. A little investigation, however, shows him to have been Alexander (or Sandy) Lindesay, of the Glen, in Scotland,¹ who is said to have come from the neighbor-

¹ His appellation is evidently derived from the ancient and well-known division of the Lindesay family of Scotland into the branch of Glenesk (called frequently "of the Glen") and into that of "the Mount." The latter, which is the elder branch, has had considerable lustre thrown upon it by one of its members, Sir David Lindesay, the Scottish poet of the sixteenth century, who bore the office of heraldic King-at-arms under James IV. Many will remember the poet's description, as given by Sir Walter Scott, in "Marmion":

"He was a man of middle age;
In aspect manly, grave, and sage,
As on King's errand come;
But in the glances of his eye,
A penetrating, keen, and sly
Expression found its home;
The flash of that satiric rage,

hood of Inverness. In Dutch times he used the name Sander Leendertsen freely, but after the English régime commenced, he called himself usually Alexander Glenn, by which family name his descendants were known.

Alexander Lindesay, or Leendertsen, is said to have come to New Netherland at a very early period, employed in some capacity by the West India Company at its Fort Nassau on the Delaware River, where in 1633 he, with Augustyn Heermans, were witnesses of the sale of lands on the Schuylkill River by the Indians to Arent Coersen. Sander soon became an Indian trader, apparently dividing his time between New Amsterdam and Fort Orange or Albany, at which latter settlement he is found as early as 1646. His place in the Smits Vly, which had formerly been the easterly half of the garden and ground of Skipper Lourens Cornelissen, was granted to Sander Leendertsen by the Director and Council in 1646, it having been forfeited by Cornelissen by reason of his allowing it to remain vacant and unimproved for more than the prescribed period.¹ Here Sander immediately built a stone house, upon the site of the present glue warehouse, No. 211 Pearl Street, and here he resided when in New Amsterdam, certainly as late as 1658, and possibly later;² but in 1665 he was one of the pioneers of the new settlement

“ Which, bursting on the early stage,
Branded the vices of the age,
And broke the keys of Rome.
Still is thy name in high account,
And still thy verse has charms,
Sir David Lindesay of the Mount,
Lord Lion King-at-arms ! ”

¹ Some years, afterwards, however, Sander acquired a release from Skipper Cornelissen.

² At a period twenty years later than that of our survey, this plot of Sander Leendertsen contained another building which must have occupied in part the ground covered by the present No. 217 Pearl Street. What this was, or when it was built, does not appear. Sander Leendertsen's well is clearly indicated in the descriptions; it stood some fifty feet in a northeasterly direction from his stone house, and its remains are perhaps yet under the building No. 215 Pearl Street.

of Schenectady, after which date there is no evidence that he again resided in New York.¹ A few years before this latter date he is said to have parted with his property in the Smits Vly, but if this were the case, he must have soon resumed it, possibly by virtue of a mortgage upon it. The place seems for many years to have been in the possession of various tenants. About the time of the surrender to the English in 1664, the house appears to have been occupied by one James Webb, a Londoner, as a tavern or lodging-house with the sign of Saint George and the Dragon.²

At the frontier settlement of Schenectady, Alexander Lindesay, or Glenn, spent the last twenty years of his life. His house, like those of the rest of the settlers, was within the stockaded village, but his land embraced a tract of nearly a thousand acres of fertile meadows on the north side of the Mohawk River, and to this he gave the name of Nova Scotia. Alexander did not live to witness the massacre of his neighbors in 1690 by the French and Indians; he had died about five years before that event. The members of his family, however, were treated with respect by the French commandant. Feelings of humanity, and possibly some Jacobite propensities in the Scotch blood of the Glenns, had induced them to show kindness to certain Frenchmen who had been taken prisoners by the English in the war which Louis XIV. was waging to restore James II. to the English throne; and as a mark of gratitude, the Glenn house in Schenectady is said to have been spared by the express command of the French governor of Canada on the destruction of the rest of the village in 1690.

¹ In 1656 he acted as an agent at New Amsterdam for Jacob Flodder of Fort Orange, in the sale and conveyance by the latter of the lots in his speculative purchase of what was known as the Outhoek of the Damen farm. See *ante*, page 271.

² This will doubtless serve to explain the mysterious entry of the burgomasters in their minutes, under date of March 31, 1665, at which time the citizens were called upon to declare how many soldiers of the garrison they were willing to lodge: "The Man of the Knight of St. George will take one." This record has puzzled many an inquirer. See Valentine's Manual N. Y., Com. Council, 1861, p. 610.

A more quiet state of affairs in the next century induced the Glenns to build the stately, albeit somewhat neglected old mansion which still stands upon their estate, on the north side of the Mohawk River at Schenectady. The stroller, crossing the long bridge over the Mohawk at Schenectady, and turning westward along the banks of the river, will see to his left, at the distance of half a mile or so from the bridge,—standing upon a low, grassy hillock overlooking the city and the broad meadows of the Mohawk with their curious purplish tinge of early summer, and the willowed islands and shores of that lake-like stream,—a square, stuccoed house, with a flat, railed roof, bearing upon the front of the building, in iron letters, the date “A. O. 1713.” Ancient trees surround the house, some of which may have stood there when Sander Leendertsen’s descendants erected the building, within less than thirty years from his death. It is one of the historic mansions of the State, and should not be allowed to perish.

As for the property of Sander Leendertsen in the Smits Vly, it was finally disposed of by him in the fall of 1675,—the easterly portion to Abraham Lambertsen Moll, and the larger western portion, with the original house, to Hendrick Vandewater. Certain adverse claims existed, as it would seem, against this property, for in 1674, we find one John Saffin sending a communication to Secretary Nicoll, complaining that “Henry Vandewater hath seruptitiously obtained a mortgage of old Sander Leendertsen of Albany on the stone house situated in the Smits Vly which was long before made over to, and hath been in the possession of Captain Thomas Willet and now pertains to his heires.” He asks that Vandewater be prevented from exposing the premises for sale or otherwise prejudicing the said “heires” till they have an opportunity of protecting their interests. No action, however, seems to have followed this communication, and Vandewater and his family remained in the occupation of the property for many years.

At the portion of Smits Vly which we have now reached, the river front had been originally embraced in the farm of Secretary Van Tienhoven. He, however, had sold off various plots of the low-lying ground along the road, and one of these plots, which covered the sites of the present buildings Nos. 225 to 231 Pearl Street, together with a portion of the modern Platt Street,¹ was conveyed by him in the year 1656 to Willem Beeckman; it then contained a house, however, which in all probability stood there at the time of our survey. This plot of ground becomes of interest as having been for many years the residence and the seat of the brewing operations of Jan Vinje, as he was called among his Dutch neighbors (or Jean Vigne, as his parents would probably have called him), a leading citizen of New Amsterdam, and a man who, as there is every reason to believe, enjoys the distinction of having been the first child of European parentage born in New Amsterdam or in New Netherland.

Our information upon this point is derived from the Journal of the Labadist missionaries, Danker and Sluyter, who visited New York in 1679.² While in the town they lodged with one Jacob Hellekers, the site of whose house is now occupied by the building No. 255 Pearl Street, near Fulton Street. They were therefore near neighbors to Jan Vinje, with whom they soon became acquainted. He was then, they tell us, about sixty-five years of age, a prominent man, well known to all the citizens, many of whom had themselves resided in the town and had been intimately acquainted with him for from thirty to forty years. It was the common understanding that he was the first person born in the colony, and the date of his birth would therefore go back to the year 1614. His parents, so the Labadists inform us, were Guillaume Vigne, and his wife, Adrienne Cuville, from Valenciennes in France. How they came to be at New Amsterdam in the early days of the trading-post we do not

¹ Platt Street was opened in the period between 1829 and 1835.

² See their Journal (which we owe to the labors of Hon. Henry C. Murphy), in Vol. I. of the Memoirs of the Long Island Historical Society.

know, but there is certainly nothing improbable in the assertion that a trader or an officer of the post should have had his family with him at New Amsterdam. In the mouths of their Dutch neighbors, the husband became known as Willem Vinje, and his wife as Adriana Cuvilje. There is reason to believe that Willem Vinje was the first tenant of the farm laid out north of the present Wall Street by the West India Company, and that he died there. In 1632 his widow married Jan Jansen Damen, with whom the farm is more generally associated. At the date last named, as we are informed by an instrument in the Albany records, of the four children of Willem Vinje and his wife, two were married, Maria (to Abraham Verplanck), and Christina (to Dirck Volckertsen), while two, Rachel and Jan, were "minors": as both of the latter, however, were married within the next six years (Rachel to the Secretary Van Tienhoven), they must have been in the latter years of their minority in 1632, and the age of Jan Vinje, according to the Labadists, which would have been seventeen or eighteen at that time, is thus confirmed.¹

The plot of ground we are considering, with its brew-house, came into the possession of Jan Vinje about the year 1664, that building having been erected a few years before, and at some date between 1656 and 1660: it had passed through the hands of two or three individuals who do not appear to have met with success in its management, and Vinje probably acquired it through the foreclosure of a mortgage. A partial description of the premises has been preserved to us. At the southwestern corner of the plot, upon ground now partly embraced in Platt Street and partly in the modern building No. 225 Pearl Street at the northwest corner of Platt, stood its mill-house; while the brewery itself appears to have occupied a rear position in the spacious enclosure which was about

¹ The statement has often been made that Sarah, the daughter of Joris Rapalje, was the first white child born in New Netherland. This statement is based upon an allegation made by her in a petition to the Council asking for a grant of land in 1656. Without discussing the value of this document as evidence, an examination of it will show that she merely describes herself as "the first born Christian daughter in New Netherland."

eighty feet front by one hundred and sixty in depth. Both of these buildings were erected a short time after the period of our survey; but the dwelling-house itself, which in all probability stood upon a part of the ground now covered by the buildings Nos. 227 and 229 Pearl Street, appears to have been constructed by Secretary Van Tienhoven in 1647. His building contract with the carpenter Rynier Dominicus is still extant and affords some curious specifications. The house was to be thirty feet long by twenty feet wide on the inside; it was to have an "outlet," or entry, "eight feet wide, right through." The "story of the front room, nine and one half feet high: that of the back room, twelve and one half feet": with "five cross beams with girders and one without." The entry was to contain the usual "bedstead" built in. The exterior chimney was to be of timber; and the beams of the small structure were to have the capacious cross dimensions of ten inches by seven. Vinje remained in possession of this property until the summer of 1684, when he sold it to Nicholas de Meyer, in whose family it continued for many years. The old buildings seem to have been removed or destroyed before 1712, as a deed of the property, executed in that year,¹ mentions it as ground "upon which lately stood a messuage with a brew house and mill house." The premises remained, during the greater portion of the eighteenth century, only partly built upon, and at the time of the British occupation of New York, during the War of the Revolution, they were occupied by the barracks of the Hessian troops.

¹ Lib. xxviii. cons., page 9, N. Y. Register's Office.

CHAPTER XXII

SECRETARY VAN TIENHOVEN'S BOUWERY OF "WALLEN-STEIN." — THE GOUWENBERG. — VAN TIENHOVEN'S LANE. — THE VANDERCLYFF FAMILY

O Earth, what changes hast thou seen!
There where the long street roars, hath been
The stillness of the central sea.

The hills are shadows, and they flow
From form to form, and nothing stands;
They melt like mist, the solid lands,
Like clouds they shape themselves and go.

TENNYSON: "In Memoriam."

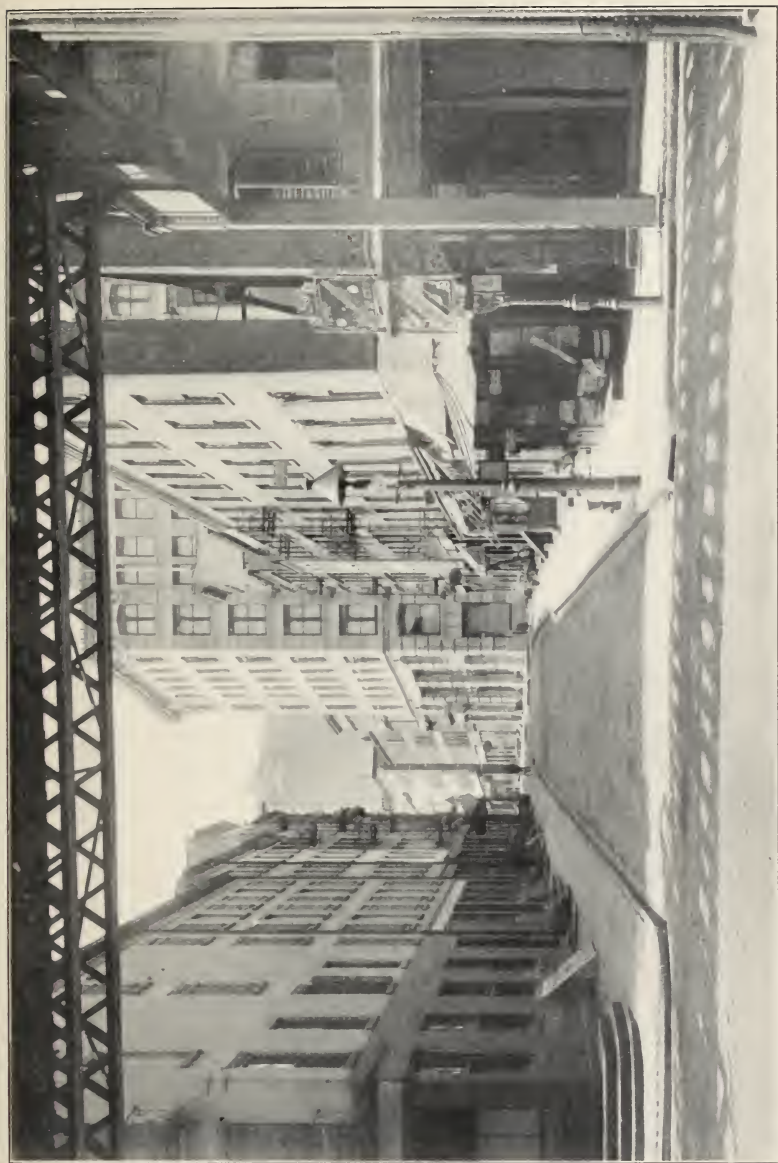
AS one passes along the modern John Street, between Cliff and Pearl streets, he sees, upon the north side of the first-named street, a row of small shops, gradually diminishing in depth, till they terminate almost in a point at the corner of Pearl Street. Through the windows of these diminutive structures one can catch a glimpse of a sickly looking tree or two in an interior enclosure, and is apt to wonder at this bit of *rus in urbe* at such a spot. Beyond the diagonal line which marks the north side of these shops, a gated alleyway and stairs of correspondingly diminutive size leads to some mysterious region within, which would seem to be perforce a closed district to all individuals of a corpulent habit. Many persons have doubtless wondered at this odd nook, so much of the character of those which Charles Dickens delighted in for the scenes of his novels; but it is safe to say that very few indeed have recognized in the line of these buildings one of the oldest landmarks in New York, or have known that it marked the north side of the lane which once led from the

river shore up the hill to Secretary Van Tienhoven's ancient bouwery house.

Standing, about the year 1655, at the junction of this lane with the river road, — or at the corner of the modern John and Pearl streets, — and looking up the broad, grassy lane (of nearly the width of the present John Street), one saw before him at the top of a moderate ascent, a low-roofed Dutch farmhouse, with its stoep, its swinging half-doors, its small-paned and heavy-shuttered windows, and its capacious exterior chimneys; a little way to the right (or east) of the building, the spectator saw its outer cellar, partly excavated in the hill, and partly sodded over. Within the lane, at the foot of the hill, was a spring or well, to which a well-worn path led down from the farmhouse. On the left of the lane, and occupying a warm southeastern exposure upon the slope of the hill, was a garden of large size, — probably of at least an acre in area, — the site of which is now traversed by the modern Platt Street. This garden appears to have been hired by the West India Company after the disturbance of its prior garden upon the west side of Broadway, caused by the erection of the "fortifications" in 1653.¹ Back of this garden was a somewhat rough hillock used for pasturage purposes; along its wet and springy sides the common celandine displayed its yellow flowers thickly; this plant was called by the Dutch the *gouwe*, and the hill became known as the *Gouwenberg*, which name was in the course of time corrupted by the English into *Golden Hill*, from which the present irregular street called *Gold Street* took its origin. The lower portion of that street appears to have been originally a lane giving access from *Maagde Paetje*, or *Maiden Lane*, to the pasture field just spoken of.

To the north and east of the bouwery house, which must have stood just about at the northwestern angle of the present John and Cliff streets, lay its orchard, apparently of two or three acres in area; twenty-five years of growth in a new soil must have given its trees a fair size at the period of our

¹ In 1656, lots upon the modern Pearl Street at that point are bounded on the north "by the clapboards of the Company's garden."



INTERSECTION OF JOHN AND PEARL STREETS.

Showing the line of Van Tienhoven's lane, and the site of his bonewery house.

survey; and to the Dutch traveller, passing by on his way to the Long Island ferry, these trees on the hill above him, white with their fragrant blossoms in May, or loaded with their red and yellow fruit in autumn, perhaps called to mind the orchards of Beveland, or of Gooiland in the old country. Between the orchard and the low ground of the Smits Vly ran the farm lane above described, which, turning at right angles at the farmhouse, skirted the brow of the hill; as widened, it forms the modern Cliff Street, between John and Fulton streets. At a point which corresponds with the intersection of the present Cliff and Fulton streets, the lane of Van Tienhoven's farm came to the declivity of a ravine or gully which formed the division between this farm and the land which belonged at the time of our survey to Thomas Hall, but which is better known from its later owner, William Beeckman, as the Beeckman estate; to avoid this it appears to have again turned westwards, running along what is now Fulton Street as far as the turn in that street, at the intersection of the gloomy-looking cul-de-sac, known at present as Rider's Alley; thence it ran into the lower end of the present Ann Street, which it followed out to the Heerewegh, or the modern Broadway. The object of this lane was evidently to afford means of access, not only to the farther portions of Van Tienhoven's farm, but also to the common pasture occupying the present Park and vicinity; although its western half was supposed to skirt Van Tienhoven's farm, it had been carelessly laid out as a track through the woods, and this fact gave rise to the regulation of the lane (or modern Ann Street) in the year 1642, at which time the adjoining land was sold by the West India Company to Govert Loockermans and Cornelis Leendertsen.¹

¹ The deed from the Director and Council to Loockermans and Leendertsen, dated March 26, 1642, contains the following provisions relating to this lane: "And since from old time to now, between the land which we sell to Loockermans and Cornelis Leendertsen, and the farm of Cornelis van Tienhoven, there has been a wagon road running to the Great Highway; it is expressly ordered that as long as the said Loockermans and Leendertsen shall not have enclosed their purchased land all around, sufficiently tight against cattle, then Cornelis van

This bouwery is spoken of as belonging to Cornelis van Tienhoven as early as the year 1640, though he did not receive his formal ground-brief or patent for it until 1644. He was not, however, the first owner or tenant of the farm, which was in all probability laid out at a very early date, and its buildings, perhaps, erected by the West India Company.

It was the fashion among the Dutch at this time to give to their bouwerijs special names, and many such examples are found in New Netherland, sometimes taken from Indian names, as Werpoes or Gamoenepa; at others from some topographical or other peculiarity connected with the tract, as Corlaers Hoek, the Malle Smits Berg, Deutel Bay, the Bassen Bouwery, Krom Moeras, the Great Bouwery, the Otterspoor, etc.; while others were purely fanciful appellations, as Zegendal or Vredendal: in this manner the farm we are considering had received at a very early day the name of Wallenstein.

It might at first sight seem strange that in a Protestant community a farm should have been thus designated in honor, as it undoubtedly was, of the great historical personage then recently at the head of the Romanist party of Europe and of the troops of the German Empire, assembled to put down the Protestant states of that country. It must not be forgotten, however, that during the last portion of his life and after his assassination, Wallenstein came to be popularly regarded as a secret friend to the Protestant cause, whose untimely death alone prevented him from carrying out vast and mysterious

Tienhoven shall have the privilege of using the aforesaid road beyond his palisades (as having been a road for a length of time) with wagon and horses. But when the said land have been sufficiently cleared by Loockermans and Leendertsen and shall have been enclosed with a sufficient fence, which must be kept up by them, then the wagon road shall run exactly as the palisades of Tienhoven's land stand, of which the said Loockermans and Leendertsen shall give one-half of the land for the breadth of the road; and in like manner Cornelis van Tienhoven shall give one-half thereof, which aforesaid road shall be used equally, serving only as an outlet to the Long Highway, as their own private road." This lane was only laid out from "the Long Highway" towards the East River as far as a point at the intersection of the present Gold and Ann streets, Loockermans' and Leendertsen's land terminating at that place.



A PART OF VAN TIENHOVEN'S LANE, 1902.

Ann Street between William and Gold.

schemes which would have transformed Germany into a great Protestant Empire. Whether this belief was sufficiently justified by facts can in all probability never be determined. It existed, however, in the minds of many, and in the year 1638 we find Barent Dircksen Swart, who then appears to have been in occupation of this farm, making a lease for six years to "Cornelis Jacobsen, the elder, from Mertensdyk and Cornelis Jacobsen, the younger, his brother,"¹ of "the Bouwery named Walensteyn," with all its "stock of cows, heifers, mare, stallions, wagons, etc." The yearly rental of this farm to be paid by the lessees was to be one hundred and fifty pounds of butter and fifty schepels of grain, whether wheat, rye, or barley. Although the Indian troubles were still in the future, the lessees had not forgotten the unprotected state of the farm, for they continue thus, in the lease: "It being well understood, should the house come to be burned unfortunately either by hostile Indians or others, if it do not happen by the fault of the lessees, the lessor shall stand the risk of the incendiary."

As for the lessor Barent Dircksen, he himself had not been the first occupant of the "Wallenstein" bouwery, but he had purchased it from Antony Jansen of Vees, from whom he received a deed for it in 1639, after he had been some time in actual possession of the farm. The tenure of the bouwery both by Jansen and by Dircksen was, it is quite evident, not

¹ The writer is inclined to the belief that this second Cornelis Jacobsen is no other than the Secretary Cornelis van Tienhoven himself, whose patronymic, hitherto unknown, would thus appear. The village of Mertensdyk, or St. Martinsdyke, is only about four miles from that of Tienhoven, both places being little more than that distance from the ancient city of Utrecht in the Netherlands. The inconvenient similarity of names would be alone sufficient to account for the disuse of his family name by Van Tienhoven. We would also under this hypothesis have a ready explanation of the fact that the farm is called Van Tienhoven's four years before he obtained his ground-brief for the same, and while it was yet apparently under the claim of ownership of Barent Dircksen. It may be also mentioned, for what it is worth, that in the family of Cornelis Jacobsen van Mertensdyk, better known in the records of the colony as Cornelis Jacobsen Stille, occurs the not very common name of Aefje or Effie (Eva), the same as that of Cornelis van Tienhoven's sister, the wife of Pieter Stoutenburgh.

absolute, but merely a conditional and future right to ownership, such as was frequently granted to the colonists by the West India Company. The farmers were allowed to take possession of a tract — sometimes partly improved, and sometimes not — with the stipulation that upon their performing certain conditions, such as clearing of timber and bringing under cultivation a certain number of acres, or erecting buildings and fences of a specified character within a given term, often ten years, they should be entitled to receive an absolute deed or ground-brief for the property from the company.

Of Barent Dircksen, the lessor of this farm, not much is known, except that he was a middle-aged man, a baker by trade, and is said in some of the records to have come from "Noorden," which is likely enough a misspelling of the old town of Naerden on the Zuyder Zee, some sixteen or seventeen miles north of Utrecht. The relations between him and the lessees of his farm do not appear to have been entirely harmonious, for upon the 26th of August, 1642, at an unusual period of the year for the execution of a farm lease, and considerably before the expiration of the Jacobsen brothers' lease, we find him making a new one to Bout Francen, of Naerden, for "the bouwery called Walestyn," at an annual rental of eighty pounds of butter, twenty schepels of wheat, and forty of rye. This transaction seems to have led to the purchase of Barent Dircksen's rights in the farm by Secretary Van Tienhoven, for upon the 13th of May of the next year 1643,¹ Cornelis van Tienhoven executes a lease to Cornelis Jacobsen Stille of "his bouwery in the Smits Vly" for three or six

¹ Dircksen appears upon the sale of this farm to have retired from active farming operations, for a time at least, or to have taken refuge in the town from the Indians. In the fall of the year 1643, he purchased from Harck Syboutsen a small house nearer the fort for the sum of 175 guilders or \$70 (probably above some incumbrance), "and a half-barrel of beer as a treat for the company." The parties do not seem in this transaction to have considered the carrying out of the sale as of vital importance, but it is provided with great care in the instrument "if either of the parties backs out or repents of the sale, he shall pay a half-barrel of beer." Barent Dircksen died before 1647, in which year we find his widow married to Harman Smeeman, who had a small farm on the East River shore adjoining the Stuyvesant plantation.

years; Bout Francen, the former lessee, having been provided with a lease of Johannes la Montagne's bouwery of Vredendal (at the north end of the present Central Park), from which, in the course of a few months, he was routed out by the Indians. Van Tienhoven's lease affords some curious particulars of the condition in 1643 of this tract of land situated between the modern Maiden Lane, Ann Street, Broadway, and Pearl Street, and now so densely built upon with stores, warehouses, and office buildings; its fields had then just been "fenced and railed in a proper manner," but portions of it were still open and covered with wood or brush, for the lessee agrees "every year to clear a piece of land and let it lie fallow; any land added, to be fenced as at present." The Secretary further agrees to build a hay or grain barrack upon the farm for his tenant.

Cornelis Jacobsen Stille appears to have remained as a tenant in the occupation of this farm till the year 1647, when he removed to the farm known as "Bouwery Number Six," which he had purchased of the West India Company, and which lay between the present Division Street and the East River. It was in the same year that Secretary Van Tienhoven, who had obtained a formal ground-brief for his bouwery from Director-General Kieft three years before that date, built the house upon the shore road which has already been alluded to (*ante*, page 308) as the later residence of the Secretary's brother-in-law, Jan Vinje. Either in this house, or in the farmhouse on the hill, the Secretary and his family may have dwelt during the next five or six years, and in the immediate vicinity he seems to have taken some interest in establishing several of his relatives by marriage, for in the year 1649 he sold, to two of his brothers-in-law, Abraham Verplanck and Dirck Volckertsen, small plots of ground upon the Shore Road in the northeastern corner of his farm near the intersection of the present Pearl and Fulton streets, where, with one or two other persons, they built a small cluster of houses, of which some notice will be taken hereafter. In 1653, however, Van Tienhoven purchased the house on

't Water, or the modern Pearl Street, next to the old Dutch church¹ which thenceforth became his residence; and there is no evidence that the bouwery of "Wallenstein" was ever again the dwelling-place of any of the Secretary's family, though it remained in their possession, and evidently occupied by farmer tenants for nearly a score of years after the death or disappearance of the Secretary in 1656.

Some of the subsequent changes coming to this property may be not without interest. In 1671 the representatives of the estates of Van Tienhoven and of his wife sold the farm to one Jan Smedes, who held it a few years; but in 1675, Smedes sold the rear fields of the farm, extending to Broadway from a line parallel with the modern Gold Street, and about one hundred feet west of it, to Coenrad Ten Eyck, Carsten Luersen, John Harpendinck, and Jacob Abrahamsen, four shoemakers and tanners of the town, who desired to establish their tan-pits in the low ground along Maiden Lane, at the southeastern angle of their purchase. The land used for this purpose was of but small extent, and the balance of the tract of seventeen acres, after deducting certain small garden plots along Broadway, was used for pasturage purposes for about twenty years, forming the well-known topographical feature of the early town, known as the "Shoemakers' Field." In 1696, the present streets were run through this tract; it was divided into a number of lots which were distributed among the partners in the purchase, and were slowly sold off by them for small prices, averaging perhaps \$100 each, of the present currency.

The old bouwery house, with about five or six acres of land, was sold by Smedes to Hendrick Rycken, a blacksmith, in 1677; and four years later Rycken parted with the property to a man, who, with his family, is perhaps more closely associated with the place than any of its former owners.² This

¹ See *ante*, page 55, etc.

² There was a tradition, some time ago, among the members of the Riker family, that their ancestor sold this place out of disgust at the snakes then infesting the wet grounds about the Gouwenberg and Smits Vly. As, however, he

was Dirck Jansen Vanderclyff, who appears to have come from the village of Alphen, a few miles southeast of the swamp-environed fortress of Breda, in Brabant. At New York, he married Geesje, the daughter of Hendrick Willemsen, a baker who long resided at the northwest corner of the present Bridge and Broad streets. In the old farmhouse this family resided for many years, and its broad lane leading down the hill to the waterside must have been well trodden by the eight or ten small Vanderclyffs, or "Van Cleefs," as they came to be called. Before 1695, Dirck Vanderclyff had died, and his energetic widow set about selling off her property here, in lots. The old farm lane running along the brow of the hill parallel with the river road formed one of her streets, and its turn at right angles formed another one which she designed to lead into one of the new streets which the Shoemakers were laying out, at about this time, on their adjoining property. Geesje was an American-born woman, but she had a great admiration for her father's country, and for its great Stadtholder, who was then filling so prominent a place in the eyes of the world, — William of Nassau, Prince of Orange. The Shoemakers, upon their adjoining property, had named one of their streets William Street, but the rest of the Stadtholder's title was open to Geesje, and she called the lane at the top of the hill — scarcely four hundred feet in length — Orange Street, while the other, of not much greater length, she designated Nassau Street. In course of time those names came to be applied to streets of greater length and of more importance, in other parts of the town. For want of a generally accepted name, her "Orange Street" was generally known as Vanderclyff's, or Van Cleef's Street, whence its modern name of Cliff Street, while "Nassau Street" became merged in Fair Street, of the "Shoemaker's Pasture," now Fulton Street.

In the old farmhouse here Geesje Vanderclyff lived many years, — she resided here certainly as late as 1711, — and Mr.

purchased the property for 2900 guilders and sold for 5000 guilders, — a neat advance for those days, — the snake story is not needed to explain the sale.

D. T. Valentine has found some reason to believe that she kept a tavern here. Her husband, Dirck, undoubtedly did, during his lifetime, establish a place of resort at "The Orchard;" and it was here, in 1682, that James Graham, afterwards Recorder of the City, and Attorney-General of the province, was mysteriously stabbed, in the midst of a social party and apparently without cause, by Captain Baxter, an English officer whom he was entertaining, — the wound, however, not proving very serious. Of Geesje's large family, six daughters reached years of maturity, and among them was divided what remained of the place at their mother's death. Most of them had married persons of English descent, and the Dutch characteristics of the Vanderclyffs soon disappeared.¹

It may be noted that upon land immediately adjoining the Vanderclyff farmhouse, and in all probability upon a portion of what had been its barnyard, was erected at some time within the period from 1724 to 1728 the first church building of the Baptists in New York City. It had a very ephemeral existence as a church edifice, being claimed as private property and soon closed by one of its first trustees. It appears, however, as late as upon the map of 1755 as the "Baptist Meeting."²

¹ Of the children of Dirck and Geesje Vanderclyff, Cornelia was married to Benjamin Norwood in 1693; Catharine to John Lowry or Loring, in or about 1694; Lysbet to John Bruce in 1696; Margaretha to Peter Burtell, or Brutell, in 1704; Femmetje, or Euphemia, to Andries Hardenbrook in 1709; Maria, a twin daughter, grew to maturity, but does not appear to have married.

² See manuscript of Rev. Morgan Edwards as cited by Rev. Wm. Parkinson in his sketch of the "Origin of the First Baptist Church in the City of New York."

CHAPTER XXIII

*THE HAMLET AT THE FERRY.—LAMBERT MOLL.—HAGE
BRUYNSEN, THE SWEDE.—DIRCK VOLCKERTSEN AND
HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW, ABRAHAM VERPLANCK.—THOMAS
HALL'S PLACE*

By hedge-row elms, on hillocks green,
Right against the Eastern gate,
Where the great sun begins his State,
Robed in flames, and amber light
The clouds in thousand liveries dight.

MILTON: "L'Allegro."

FROM his farmhouse on the hill, Secretary Van Tienhoven could look down upon a row of five houses standing in close proximity to one another in the Smits Vly, and at the southeastern angle of his estate. These buildings, together with the neighboring house of Thomas Hall, the warehouse of Isaac Allerton, and the ferry-house of Eghbert van Borsum, formed a small hamlet often spoken of simply as "The Ferry."

In the summer of 1649, the Secretary had sold three plots of ground upon the river road, and near the intersection of the modern Pearl and Fulton streets, to two of his brothers-in-law, Abraham Verplanck and Dirck Volekertsen, and to one Lambert Huybertsen. These plots contained nearly half an acre each, and extended back from the river road to the high ground in their rear. Volekertsen soon subdivided his parcel, and sold to persons who built upon their plots, so that the previously isolated state of the Secretary's farmhouse was somewhat relieved.

The first of these buildings, going towards the ferry, at the time of our survey, was the house of Lambert Huybertsen

Moll, to whom sometimes the designation of "klomp," or wooden shoe, was given, — probably either from his wearing or manufacturing those useful articles. His house seems to have stood about upon the site of the present building, No. 253 Pearl Street, and was built, in all probability, about the time of his acquiring the land in 1649. He seems to have brought his family with him from the Netherlands, though from what particular place is uncertain, one of his sons, Hendrick, appearing in the records as of Amsterdam, and another, Huybert, of Aernhem, on the lower Rhine. Of Lambert's life in New Amsterdam not much is known. He was weak enough, on one occasion, to appear with "just a drappie in the e'e" before the Court of Burgomasters, at the Stadt Huys, during the progress of a suit by him against Isaac Kip; the indignant court promptly vindicated its outraged dignity by fining the offender the sum of six guilders, equivalent to two dollars and forty cents, and turning him out of its presence. Nevertheless, Lambert appears to have been a man of a humane and kindly disposition. There is some evidence that he followed the occupation of a boat-builder or boatman,¹ and upon the occurrence of the Indian panic of 1655 he loaned one of his scows to the frightened inhabitants of Gamoenepa, or Communipaw, across the North River, for the purpose of ferrying over their cattle to Manhattan Island. The refugees gave themselves, upon this occasion, no concern about returning the vessel to its owner, but simply abandoned it, and Lambert experienced much trouble in recovering its possession. Lambert Huybertsen seems to have resided in this house until his death, which took place some time before the year 1676, at which period the property was sold to Elias Puddington, or Purington, a prominent shipwright in the early days of the English régime.²

¹ In 1656 Lambert Moll was ordered by the Council to make an examination and report upon the condition of a vessel from Virginia then in the harbor.

² Lambert Huybertsen and his son Reyer were the owners of a tract of land embracing about one hundred and fifty acres, which extended along the East River from the marshes of the Wallabout nearly to the present North First Street, in

Closely adjoining the house of Lambert Huybertsen, in an easterly direction, and apparently upon the site of No. 255 Pearl Street, was the small house of Hage (sometimes called Hacke, and sometimes Auke) Bruynsen, a Swede, whom we find at New Amsterdam in the early part of 1653, when he married Anneken Jans, a Danish woman from Holstein. In the fall of the same year he purchased a small slip of ground here from Dirck Volckertsen, and seems to have built upon it at once. Bruynsen was from the Province of Småland in the southern part of Sweden; it was at the head of the famous Småland Cavalry that Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, met his death at Lützen, in 1632; and for aught we know, Bruynsen, as a trooper in the Swedish squadrons, may have confronted his neighbor, Augustyn Heermans, in Wallenstein's army, on that memorable day. Bruynsen died about the year 1668, and two years later his house was sold to one Jacob Hellekers, familiarly known as "black Jacob." The house is of some interest, as the lodging-place, in 1679, of the Labadist missionaries, Danker and Sluyter, whose interesting journal of their experiences in the New World was brought to light by Hon. Henry C. Murphy some years ago.¹

Next beyond the house of Hage Bruynsen stood, in 1655, the residence of Dirck Volckertsen, the brother-in-law of Secretary Van Tienhoven, — not his original house at this place, built upon his acquiring the land in 1649 from the Secretary, but a later one, which he appears to have built for himself about 1651, at which time he had sold his first house to Roeloff Teunissen. Dirck Volckertsen, at the time of our survey, was in the later years of his life, and was in all probability at this time, the earliest European settler living in the colony. In considering him, we are going back to the days of the blockhouse and trading-post, with which he must

Brooklyn, thus covering about one-half of the modern Williamsburgh. Lambert's patent was acquired as early as 1641. Within twenty or twenty-five years, however, both father and son had disposed of their holdings on Long Island.

¹ See the translated Journal in Vol. I., *Memoirs Long Island Historical Society*.

have been familiar. In the year 1621 we find Dirck Volckertsen and Cornelis Volckertsen (who was in all probability his brother), together with certain other persons, presenting a petition to the States-General of the Netherlands, praying for permission to send a ship over to New Netherland, "with all sorts of permitted merchandise," and it was, in all probability, in pursuance of this design that the two Volckertsens came over to the colony. These men, at the period of their mercantile venture, were residents of Hoorn, on the peninsula of North Holland, but they appear to have been Danes, or Scandinavians by birth,¹ and Dirck was closely associated in New Netherland with the Swedes and Norwegians in the colony. How the Volckertsens spent their earlier years in New Netherland we do not know. When they are first met with in the records of the colony, about 1644, Cornelis was residing upon the east side of the Heerewegh, or Broadway, upon a grant which he had obtained there a short time before, and through which the modern Exchange Place runs. Here he seems to have kept a tavern for a short time, but he died before 1650, in which year his widow married Jan Peeck, of whom previous mention has been made.²

Dirck at this time was living apparently in the house afterwards known as Sergeant Litscho's tavern, upon the road along the East River, with which he owned a small plot of land. He had married, before 1632, Christina, daughter of Guillaume Vigne, or Willem Vinje, and step-daughter of Jan Damen, but he does not appear to have been on the best of terms with his wife's family, and especially with his step-father, Jan Damen. In 1645 he disposed of his place along the river road; but four years later, having obtained a grant of land from his brother-in-law, Secretary Van Tienhoven, at the place in the Smits Vly at which we have now arrived,

¹ The name "Volckertsen" seems to be a refinement by the Dutch upon "Holgersen," by which name Dirck is occasionally designated. Holger, or Ogier, the Dane, living in the time of Charlemagne, is a great legendary hero of Denmark, and it was possibly to the story of his ghost, which haunted the Castle of Elsinore, that we owe Shakespeare's "Hamlet."

² See *ante*, page 301.

he built a house which must have stood upon the whole or a part of the site of the modern building, No. 259 Pearl Street.

This, with one-half of his garden of ninety-two feet front, extending back something over two hundred feet to the hill upon which the farmhouse of his brother-in-law stood, he disposed of within a couple of years to a Swedish sea captain named Roeloff Teunissen, as above stated, and he then erected upon the site of the present building, No. 257 Pearl Street, the house which he occupied at the time of our survey.

In 1645 Dirck Volckertsen received a patent for the lands along the East River, which form the modern Greenpoint; from the appellation of "The Norman" frequently given to him, the kill on the south side of his grant, known in late times as the Bushwick Creek, was in the seventeenth century usually spoken of as the Norman's Kill. Through this tract of land a long lane or wood road stretched up from the river through the forest to the spot where, in later years, the hamlet of Bushwick grew up. Volckertsen seems to have cultivated a portion of this tract, probably residing at his house in the Smits Vly, and like many of the other farmers along the shore, sailing to and from the scene of his agricultural labors, with his sons and work hands. In 1653 he conveyed to Jacob Haie, or Haes, who appears to have been the husband of his daughter, Christina, that portion of the tract lying north of the lane just mentioned, but Haes had hardly established himself here, when in the fall of 1655, his house was burned by the Indians, as has been already mentioned.¹ After the cessation of the Indian troubles, Dirck Volckertsen appears to have removed to his farm at the Norman's Kill, for in a deed of 1661 he describes himself as of "Bushwyk." The entire tract eventually came into the hands of the Mese-rolle family, descendants of Dirck's daughter Christina, who held it until recent years, and may still hold some portions of it.

The occupant of Dirck Volckertsen's original house upon the parcel of ground in the Smits Vly, who was still his

¹ See *ante*, page 169.

neighbor at the time of our survey, was, as has been stated, one Roeloff Teunissen. This man came from where Gothenburg looks out from among its bare hills of gray granite upon the blue waters of the broad Cattegat which separates Sweden from Denmark. The old city of the Goths was then, as now, one of the principal seaports of Sweden, and, like many of its natives, Roeloff Teunissen was a seafaring man. In 1651 he had found employment in the Dutch service, and was then "Master of the ship the Emperor Charles." He resided here at his house in the Smits Vly till 1657, when he sold the premises to Jan Hendricks Steelman.

The remaining house in Secretary Van Tienhoven's hamlet near "The Ferry" was, in 1655, that of his brother-in-law, Abraham Isaacsen Verplanck. This stood in a large garden, of about ninety feet front by two hundred feet in depth, and its site is believed to be covered by the modern Fulton Street.¹ Verplanck was one of the earliest colonists, and before 1632 had married Maria, the eldest daughter of Willem Vinje, and sister of Rachel, the Secretary's wife, and of Christina, the wife of Dirck Volckertsen. As to the particular occupation of Verplanck we have but little information: as early as 1638 he had acquired a patent for the tract across the North River, called Pouwells Hoek, upon which the modern Jersey City stands, but he himself does not appear to have been engaged in farming operations. There are evidences that he was not a popular man in the community, for in 1642 he incurred the wrath of the Director and Council by defiantly tearing down one of the placards of ordinances posted by them. For this offence, enhanced by remarks considered "slandrous" by the authorities, the rather severe fine of 300 guilders, or about \$120, was imposed on him. On the other hand, his conduct in the following year in signing, with his wife's step-father, Jan Damen, and with Maryn Adriaensen, the petition for leave to attack the Wechquaskeek Indians brought him into great odium among the colonists, who con-

¹ This portion of Fulton Street was only opened through from Cliff Street to the East River a few years before 1817.

sidered him as one of those who were directly responsible for the devastations committed by the natives in retaliation for the massacre by the Dutch. Verplanck lived for many years after he had built his house in the Smit's Vly in 1649, but whether he resided here constantly is not known, as there are indications that a portion of his time was spent at Fort Orange, or Albany.

Looking eastward from Secretary Van Tienhoven's farmhouse near the East River across a ravine, which marked the boundary of his farm, and which traversed the space between the modern Fulton and Beekman streets, one could see a small isolated hillock, containing some eight or nine acres of land, which fell away, upon its farther side, into a hollow of swampy woodland, the site of which is still known by the name of "The Swamp," though the oaks and maples, the alders and swamp blackberries, of the Secretary's time have long since given way to dingy warehouses crammed with hides and leather, the odors of which fill the air where perhaps the Secretary may have sniffed the fragrance of the wild grape.

This hillock (which is plainly discernible in the modern grade of Pearl Street, the ancient river road), pushing forwards towards the East River, put an end to the low grounds of the Smits Vly, which extended from the palisades at Wall Street to this point. Upon the hill, at a spot which has not been accurately determined, but which must have been intermediate between the present Beekman and Ferry streets, stood, in 1655, the "house, brew-house, mill-house, with a horse-mill and other buildings" of the Secretary's neighbor, the Englishman Thomas Hall. Back of the buildings, upon ground extending from the modern Cliff Street to Gold Street, was a goodly orchard, above which towered up, at its southwest corner, and just at the intersection of the modern Ann and Gold streets, the landmark long known as "The Great Tree." On the south side of the buildings, upon ground sloping towards the Smits Vly and the modern Fulton Street, was a large garden. At the time of our survey, this property had been very recently acquired by Thomas Hall,

but it had a history extending some years back into the earlier days of the colony. As early as 1638, this parcel of land was in the possession of Philip du Trieux (or De Truy, as the Dutch generally designated him), who was long the Court "Messenger," or marshal, at New Amsterdam. Philip was one of the older residents, and seems to have been one of the first, if not the very first to build upon the Bever Graft, or the modern Beaver Street, where for a number of years he had a house. In 1640 he received his ground-brief or patent for the land adjoining Secretary Van Tienhoven's farm, and seems to have then resided upon it, for about that time he with several others of that vicinity make a formal contract with Claes Groen and Pieter Lievesen for the herding of their goats for a whole year, at the munificent sum of one guilder, or about forty cents per year for each goat. This important document is entered with much formality upon the Register of the Secretary of the Council.

Philip de Truy had died some time before 1653: he seems to have leased or to have contracted to sell this place to Nicholas Stilwel, for in 1649 we find the latter promising to furnish one Henry Bresar with "palisades" enough to fence the premises along the river road, and within two years to furnish enough more to fence the other sides of the land, in consideration of which, Bresar acknowledges that "he has taken off the hands of Nicolaes Stillwell the land and dwelling house" in question. Bresar seems to have remained in possession of the place till about the year 1653, when he built a new house a short distance beyond the ferry, on some land which he had acquired there, and the former dwelling-house of Philip de Truy, after one or two intermediate changes, was bought, in August, 1654, by Thomas Hall.

This man, who was for nearly thirty-five years a prominent character at New Amsterdam, possesses a peculiar interest to us as having been with his partner, George Holmes, beyond any reasonable doubt the first English settlers in the present State of New York; that honor has been claimed for Lion Gardiner, who acquired Gardiner's Island at the eastern end of Long Island, in 1639; but in 1638 Thomas Hall with



"THE SWAMP," 1902.
View at the Intersection of Cliff and Ferry Streets.

Holmes was in occupation of ex-Director Van Twiller's tobacco plantation at Sapokanican near the later Greenwich village, and in all probability they had been there for at least a year or two before that date.

Hall, who was a native of Gloucestershire in the west of England, appears to have been one of a little band of colonists who, after a short sojourn in New England, concluded to establish themselves, without seeking any one's permission, in the lands claimed by the Dutch along the Delaware River. Made prisoners and brought to New Amsterdam in 1635, several of these colonists determined to become subjects of the Dutch and to establish themselves in New Amsterdam, and among these, as it is supposed, were both Hall and Holmes. In some way these men, though young, — Hall was born about in the year 1614, — had become familiar with the cultivation and curing of tobacco, and they accordingly commenced operations in partnership as tobacco-planters, by leasing Director Van Twiller's large bouwery, one of the best on the island. By 1639, they had been so successful that they determined to set up a plantation of their own on some suitable ground near the East River shore, at what was called Deutel Bay near the present Forty-sixth Street. In the next year the partners separated, Hall selling out for sixteen hundred pounds of tobacco his interest in the Deutel Bay farm to Holmes, who thereupon established himself upon that farm, which remained long in the possession of him and of his descendants.

Thomas Hall remained till the beginning of 1647 upon ex-Director Van Twiller's plantation. When he first came to New Netherland he was an unmarried man, but in 1641 he married a distressed English widow who had found herself in the painful position of being left destitute and alone in a strange land and among a foreign people. This was Anna Mitford, from Bristol, not very far from the scenes of Hall's youth. She had been the wife of William Quick, who had recently died very poor. In a pathetic petition which she made to the Director and Council soon after her husband's death she shows that she "is an afflicted widow, in a strange

land, without any means or effects to satisfy the creditors; yea, even knows not where to lay her head, or to obtain a morsel of bread,"—she therefore abandons all the very humble effects of her husband to his creditors. Her marriage with Thomas Hall seems to have been a fortunate one, and she survived him after thirty years of married life, most of which were spent at the house upon the river road to which we have just alluded.

For many years Thomas Hall carried on his farming operations upon Manhattan Island; he seems, besides, to have been something of a speculator, and several large farms passed through his hands and were sold or exchanged by him. He appears to have been familiar with the language and customs of his Dutch neighbors, was generally respected and trusted by them, and was often associated with them in business or speculation. In 1651 he was appointed one of the curators of the estate of Jan Jansen Damen, and seems to have succeeded in reconciling the conflicting interests of Damen's heirs in the Netherlands with those of his stepchildren in New Amsterdam. In 1650 he was one of the delegates on behalf of the people in their application for a city government for New Amsterdam; and in 1668 he was one of the commissioners appointed to lay out and determine the most convenient wagon-road to Harlem.

After the death of Thomas Hall, in 1669, his widow sold in the following year the property on which she and her husband had long resided to Willem Beeckman, reserving a right during her life to one-half of its orchard. With the Beeckman family the place soon came to be popularly identified, the land being known as "Beeckman's orchard" long after the last apple or pear tree had vanished; the modern Beeckman Street, which traverses it, still aids in preserving the associations. As for Mrs. Anna Hall, after the sale of the property, she took up her residence in a house upon the south side of Wall Street, near Broad Street, where she is found residing in 1674, but the time of her death is not ascertained.

CHAPTER XXIV

*THE TOWN'S END AND BESTEVAERS KREUPELBOSCH. —
ISAAC ALLERTON AND HIS WAREHOUSE.—LOOCKERMANS'
FARM. — THE FERRY. — HARRY BRAZIER'S HOUSE. —
DIRCK, THE POTTER*

There were also pastures covered with gray rocks, looking like sheep; the green woods in some places were intersected by fields of brown rye, or soft clover. On the whole it was a verdant scene, — greenness, like a hollow ocean, spread itself out before her; the hills were green, the depths were green, the trees, grass, and weeds were green; and in the forest, on the south margin of the pond, the darkness as the sun went down seemed to form itself into caverns and grottoes, and strange fantastic shapes in the solid greenness. Deep in those woods the blackcap and thrush still hooted and clang unweariedly; she heard also the cawing of crows and the scream of the loon; the tinkle of bells, the lowing of cows, and the bleating of sheep were distinctly audible. Her own robin, on the butternut below, began his long, sweet, many-toned carol; the tree-toad chimed in with its loud, trilling chirrup; and frogs, from the pond and mill brook, crooled, chubbed, and croaked. — Judd's "Margaret."

UPON some such summer evening as the author of "Margaret" has so graphically depicted, and amid very similar surroundings, it is not unlikely that there may have come to Thomas Hall—as he strolled, at about the period of our survey, in an unoccupied hour, through his young orchard on the hill back of his newly-acquired home on the East River shore, and as he looked over the quiet rural landscape spread out before him at the upper end of the village of New Amsterdam — memories of his old home in far away Gloucestershire.

It was a distinctly English landscape: beyond the rear fence of his orchard, about at the present Gold Street, he saw as he looked northwards — toward where the tall newspaper buildings of Printing House Square and the hurrying crowds at the entrance of the Brooklyn Bridge now present themselves —

the fields of rye or of peas, of maize or of tobacco, of Govert Loockermans' farm, long hired of him and cultivated by a sturdy Dutch farmer, Hendrick Pietersen van Hasselt. Beyond the fence upon the farther side of these fields, which ran along the line of the present Chatham and Nassau streets, lay the broad stretch of the Common Pasture, where the cows from the town grazed among the scattered rocks and bushes, or from which, at the close of the day, they wended their way, under the guidance of their herdsman, in a leisurely procession down the Heerewegh and Maagde Paetje, toward the houses of their owners in the town. Beyond the commons again were the gently sloping fields of the Company's bouwery, west of the present Broadway: and the wooded hills of Hoboken, across the North River, closed the view in this direction.

As the gazer at the above station turned farther to his right, he saw before him, beyond the same fields of Loockermans, — which curved, in a semicircular form, from the hedges of Van Tienhoven's lane down to the East River, — two rough, forest-covered elevations: one of these, at the distance of about half a mile from him, was the hill known as the Kalck (or Kolck) Hoek; the other, somewhat nearer, was called (perhaps from a corruption by the Dutch of the English word "Catamount") Catiemuts Hoek, or hill.¹ Between these two hills, and shaded by their trees, which dropped their butternuts, acorns, and hickory nuts into its waters, lay the beautiful little lakelet long known as the Kolck,² and occasionally spoken of merely as the "Versche Water," or fresh water; and around the base of the last-mentioned hill wound the narrow road or track leading to the bouwerijs, situated farther up the island. Still farther to the right, the high grounds and Loockermans' fields fell away into a tract of a few acres of wet meadow-land, through which a small brook, forming an outlet in wet seasons to the Kolck, flowed sluggishly into the East River; near the head of this meadow, and where

¹ The former of these hills was long afterwards cut down in the grading of Broadway through it; the latter in the grading of Chatham Street.

² Corrupted by the English into "Collect."

the road crossed its stream and ascended the hill beyond, two or three small thatched cottages marked the site of the present Chatham Square; and on the farther side of the meadow the ground rose again into the broad fields and orchards of the larger bouwerijs, laid out a score of years before by the West India Company, beyond which a curving line of wood-crested hills closed in the horizon.

In this latter direction, however, the view of the observer from Thomas Hall's orchard was somewhat interfered with by the trees of a swampy hollow, or basin, which lay below him. This covered some four or five acres of ground, and was known as Bestevaers Kreupelbosch, or "the Old Man's Swamp." For some reason, possibly because it was considered worthless, it had never been granted to any person by the officers of the West India Company, although the land surrounding it had all been appropriated by various individuals; and the Swamp lay, cut off from general access, a sort of "no man's land," of not much use except to the adjoining owners for the purpose of watering their cattle at its pools, or to shoot woodcock, — or those birds' poor relations, the "high holders," — in its muddy thickets.

Whether because of copious springs which existed in the wet hollow of the Kreupelbosch, or which had formerly existed there before the clearing of the surrounding land, or whether because of the action of the ancient glaciers which had moulded this basin, a considerable depression, as of the bed of a stream of some size, led from the Swamp into the East River; its traces may yet be seen in the grade of the modern Pearl Street at Peck Slip. This depression, extending out into the East River, formed a small cove or haven, upon one side of which, by a little docking and filling out, Isaac Allerton, the New England trader, obtained a site for his warehouse with sufficient depth of water to enable the coasting craft to come up to it; while upon the other side of the little cove lay the boats and scows of the ferry to Breucklyn.

At the mention of the name of Isaac Allerton, every New Yorker of aristocratic proclivities feels, or at any rate might

be expected to feel, a thrill of pride. Isaac Allerton was not, it is true, a permanent resident of New Amsterdam, but he spent much of his time at his establishment there ; and when the Dutch authorities wished to raise money from him by imposts or contributions, they invariably spoke of him as an old and highly respected citizen. New York is relieved from the painful necessity of having to contemplate from a position of hopeless inferiority the exaltation of New England. In Isaac Allerton is the one small trickling stream of blue blood which flows to New York from the Pilgrims of the "Mayflower," "that blessed band of the First Ship," as one of their numerous historians handsomely calls them. Isaac Allerton is, as it were, the little leaven which leavens the whole New York lump; and all New Yorkers have part and parcel in him: —

" Auch ich war in Arcadien geboren. "

In considering the life of Isaac Allerton, or Alderton, — as he is occasionally called, — we go, as we are accustomed to regard it, very far back into the past. Born in 1585, in the county of Suffolk in England, perhaps, — who knows? — where the little village of Alderton, from its low rise of ground between the marshes of the Alde and the Deben, looks out to the southeastward upon the German Ocean, he was old enough to have remembered seeing the ceaseless march of the squads of volunteers, as they streamed through Ipswich on their way to the muster at Tilbury, to fight for England against the Spanish host on the great Armada, and in the Duke of Parma's transports. Perhaps, too, he had recollections of that summer day when every hill-top along the shore of Suffolk was thronged with people watching the far-off cloud of Spanish galleons as they hurried northwards to escape the ships of Howard and Drake, while the alarm bells from the village churches were answering each other in all directions, and beacon-fires were blazing all along the coast.

His associations may well, indeed, have gone still farther back. People of the second preceding generation could have

told him — and doubtless often did tell him — of the dark days in Suffolk under Bishop Bonner's persecutions, in the time of Queen Mary, for the Allertons were of good Protestant stock, and interested in these things; Ralph Allerton and three companions were burned together at the stake, at Islington, in 1557, for shocking Bishop Bonner's religious sense by reading the proscribed "Communion Book."

All Suffolk in Allerton's younger days was full of stories and reminiscences of the persecutions. Historic Hadleigh was not very far away, whose good vicar, Doctor Rowland Taylor, having been tried for heresy in London, was sent down into Suffolk to be burned at the stake in his own parish, as a wholesome example to his parishioners; and the Suffolk people still told with reverence that pathetic story which through three centuries and more has never yet lost its pathos:

"Coming within two miles of Hadleigh, he desired to light off his horse, which done he leaped and set a frisk or twain as men commonly do for dancing. 'Why, master doctor,' quoth the sheriff, 'how do you now?' He answered, 'Well, God be praised, Master Sheriff, never better; for now I know I am almost at home. I lack not past two stiles to go over, and I am even at my Father's house!'" . . .

At last, "'What place is this,' he asked, 'and what meaneth it that so much people are gathered together?' It was answered, 'It is Oldham Common, the place where you must suffer, and the people are come to look upon you.' Then said he, 'Thanked be God, I am even at home!'"

It was with early associations such as these that Isaac Allerton came, together with his wife Mary, and his three children, Bartholomew, Remember, and Mary, to Plymouth with the first colonists, in 1620. Of his history prior to that time but little is known. He was evidently a man of business experience, for soon after the landing he was chosen "assistant," or what might be called lieutenant-governor under Governor Bradford; he was, moreover, a man of some means, for he is mentioned as one of the wealthiest of the

colonists. His thatched dwelling-house on the south side of Leyden Street in Plymouth, opposite that of Governor Bradford, is shown with what is probably a substantial degree of accuracy in the imaginary view of old Plymouth painted by Mr. W. L. Williams. Its site is now apparently occupied by the later Market Street, but the "delicate spring" at the rear of his house lot still flows into the old Town Brook as it did when he first drank of its waters. His name is commemorated in one of the principal streets of Plymouth, and it is upon Allerton Street that the noble monument to the Pilgrims stands.

Isaac Allerton was not exempted from the early trials of the Plymouth Colonists; scarcely more than two months had elapsed from the landing, when his wife succumbed to the hardships of her life in the colony. Five years afterwards, in 1626, he married for his second wife the daughter of Elder William Brewster,¹ by whom he had a son, Isaac, who, as well as his father, figures in the history of New Amsterdam. Allerton soon became engaged in trading ventures, — at first along the northeastern coast, as it would seem, — but these were not always successful; and in 1633 a trading house which he had at Machias, on the Maine coast, was destroyed by the French. Soon after this period he seems to have turned his attention to the southwestern coast and to the increasing importance of the Dutch trade at New Amsterdam. His ties at Plymouth had become loosened by the death of his second wife in 1633, and soon after the establishment of the New Haven colony, in 1638, we find him a resident of that place, where in 1646 he married his third wife, Joanna.²

In the mean time Isaac Allerton's trading operations had led him at an early date to New Amsterdam, where he was

¹ Fear Brewster, according to some of the biographers, but in the Plymouth list the same person seems to be designated by the name of "Love." Besides this lady and Remember Allerton, that list contains the curious names of Desire Winter, Wrestling Brewster, Humility Cooper, Resolved White, and Oceanus Hopkins.

² It was this lady who, some time after the death of her husband, is said to have given shelter to the fugitive regicides, Goffe and Whalley.

soon brought into intimate business relations with the Dutch trader, Govert Loockermans. As early as 1642 we find him negotiating a sale to Loockermans and to one Cornelis Leendertsen, for the sum of 1100 carolus guilders (equivalent to about \$450) of his bark "The Hope," reserving the right of a return voyage in her to the Rodeberch, or Red Hill, as the Dutch called New Haven. In the next year, he and Loockermans jointly took a grant from the Director and Council of a parcel of ground on the east side of the present Broadway, a short distance north of Beaver Street, which ground, as has already been observed,¹ may have been intended as a site for a warehouse, but which was never used for such a purpose, having been sold by the grantees within a few years after its acquisition.

As early as 1646 or 1647, however, Allerton had made arrangements to establish a permanent trading house in New Amsterdam, which was under the immediate supervision of a clerk or agent, George Woolsey, from Yarmouth in England. He had purchased, for this purpose, from Philip de Truy, the owner,² a parcel of land, being a narrow strip lying between the road and the East River shore and containing more than five hundred feet of water frontage. At the southern end this parcel of ground contained but a few feet in width; at its northern end, however, where it abutted upon the little haven already spoken of, which, long ago filled up, forms the modern Peck Slip, it was of much greater width; and here, after a little docking out and filling, Isaac Allerton built his warehouse, a capacious two-story building, the appearance of which has, without doubt, been preserved to us by the Labadist missionaries, Danker and Sluyter, in their view of New York in 1679. The warehouse would appear to have very nearly occupied the sites of the present buildings, Nos. 8 and 10 Peck Slip.

Here, then, for a number of years the old Puritan merchant carried on his commercial transactions, making fre-

¹ See *ante*, page 237.

² The deed bears date, April 10, 1647.

quent journeys backwards and forwards from his house at New Haven. Besides being at times quite largely interested in trade with the Netherlands and in dealings directly with the West India Company, a great part of the commerce between New Netherland and the New England colonies passed through his hands. His warehouse here upon the East River became the resort of most of the English doing business in New Amsterdam; and here, doubtless, many profound discussions took place respecting the powers of the monarch and of the parliament; of "Divine Right," and of "The Good Old Cause;" of the trial of King Charles and of the doings of Oliver Cromwell. "Allerton's Building" in fact was a prominent feature of the town; and in the autumn of 1656, we find George Woolsey, who was still residing at the house, making a petition to the burgomasters for permission to retail wine and beer there, "as many strangers apply to him for lodgings." A license was refused at first, but was finally granted "for one year, as he has been at trouble, but not permanently, as being at too great a distance, and therefore suspect."

The warehouse, too, was occasionally used in part at least for other purposes than those of commerce. In November, 1654, it was hired by the burgomasters for the temporary reception of fifty boys and girls sent over from the almshouse at Amsterdam,—an experiment by the magistrates of that city. These children were to be bound out for the term of five years, after which period each was to receive fifty-three acres of land. Nor was Allerton's warehouse devoid of historical associations. When the Indians landed, in large numbers, upon Manhattan Island, on the 15th of September, 1655, in the absence of Director-General Stuyvesant and of his soldiers, who had started a few days before upon their expedition against the Swedes on the Delaware River, one of the first points at which they commenced their work of violence was at this warehouse. "They ran in large armed parties through the streets," says Van Tienhoven, in his report to the Council, "violently attacked the house of Mr. Allerton, knocking the lock from his door, beating his servants, and ransacking



ALLERTON'S WAREHOUSE AND THE OLD FERRY, 1679.

From the Dankers and Shuyters View.

his premises, on pretence of searching for two Indians." There is indeed no telling to what lengths the Indians might have proceeded upon this occasion, for they were in number five or six hundred, and all of this portion of the town was in their power. They observed, however, that the guns of a Dutch ship commanded by Captain Scharborgh, which lay in the East River opposite Allerton's Warehouse, were being brought to bear upon the spot. A panic seized them, and they scurried away into the "Kreupelbosch" and behind the hill back of Thomas Hall's house, to get out of range of the guns in the vessel. It is quite probable that these depredations by the natives led to the subsequent construction of palisades around Allerton's place, for in the "Duke's Plan" of 1661, the building appears to stand in an enclosure.

As Isaac Allerton advanced in years, he seems to have withdrawn more and more from active business at New Amsterdam, his son Isaac Allerton, Junior, taking his place. This young man, who at the time of the building of his father's warehouse at New Amsterdam must have been a student at the then newly established Harvard College, where he graduated in or about the year 1650, we find in occasional charge of his father's commercial interests as early as 1653. The elder Allerton, however, never lost interest in the fostering of trade and intercourse between New England and New Netherland, and upon more than one occasion he is found mediating, or even giving his own personal guarantee, for the sake of avoiding quarrels between his countrymen and the Dutch of New Amsterdam. He died at New Haven in the early part of the year 1659, and on the 16th of December of that year on the application of his son Isaac, we find the burgomasters of New Amsterdam appointing his old business associate Govert Loockermans, together with Captain Paulus Leendertsen van der Grift, George Woolsey, and John Lawrence, curators of his estate in New Amsterdam.¹ Whether

¹ Isaac Allerton's youngest daughter, Mary, who married Elder Cushman, died at a great age, in 1699, and is believed by some of the historians of Plymouth to have been the last survivor of the "Mayflower" colonists.

the New England trade was still carried on at the warehouse after Isaac Allerton's decease, and if so, in whose hands it remained, are matters about which there is much obscurity. The building itself was standing many years after the death of its original owner, and towards the close of the seventeenth century it had come into the possession of the Beeckmans, who owned the property upon the opposite side of the road, or the modern Pearl Street.

With the exception of the wooded swamp, of four or five acres in area, known as Bestevaers Kreupelbosch, which, as has been previously stated, was never made the subject of a grant by the Dutch government, all the land lying between Isaac Allerton's warehouse and the meadow called Wolphert Gerritsen's Vly (which with the small stream flowing through it known as the Versche Water, or sometimes as the Old Kill, formed the northern boundary of that portion of Manhattan Island pertaining more especially to the town of New Amsterdam) composed originally a farm of about thirty-five acres, which, when it is first brought to our notice, about the year 1640, had been partly cleared and cultivated by David Provoost. This tract extended back from the river to the Common Pasture, now the City Hall Park, and its area, now densely crowded, in part with great office, factory, and newspaper buildings, in part with squalid tenements of a river-side population, may be said roughly to extend from the modern Ferry and Ann streets about to the present James Street. Near the river shore stood Provoost's humble farmhouse, at a point which is believed to be in the interior of the block between the modern Pearl and Water streets, Dover Street, and Peck Slip. East of the house and extending from the river shore up to the present Franklin Square, of which it covered the site as well as that of the modern Dover Street, was a small cherry and apple orchard, long afterwards famous as "the Cherry Garden," the trees of which may very likely have been set out by Provoost himself. Two centuries and a half after their planting they are still commemorated by the

Cherry Street of the present day, — little suggestive of the fragrant white blossoms of the old seventeenth-century orchard. At David Provoost's farmhouse the road or track along the East River terminated, in his day; whether the ferry to Long Island was established here during his occupancy we cannot tell, but after he had left the farm (which he had probably held as a tenant of the West India Company), it was granted on the 26th of March, 1642, to two men, — to Govert Loockermans, the merchant, and to one Cornelis Leendertsen, — who undoubtedly purchased the property with the direct intention of maintaining the ferry here. The description of the farm as given in the deed to these two purchasers presents such a curious picture of the condition at that early day of that portion of the modern city which has been designated above; that a translation of it, with some parenthetical explanations, may be not uninteresting: it is described as "a dwelling house on the East River, together with the land thereto belonging, as the same is fenced in by David Provoost, which fencing begins at a brook of fresh water emptying itself into the East River" (the outlet of the Kolck Pond, the course of which ran irregularly along the present Roosevelt and James streets), "till to the land of Cornelis van Tienhoven" (which lay south of the present Ann Street; and Provoost's fence towards it skirted generally the modern Chatham and Nassau streets), "whose palisades, extending from the long highway" (present Broadway) "towards the East River" (along present Ann Street), "as may be seen by the marks by him made" (the fence of Van Tienhoven being evidently not as yet completed), "bordering on the aforesaid lands from the fence till to the great tree" (at the intersection of Ann and Gold streets), "which is the right division line between the land of Philip de Truy and Tienhoven; the said Philip extending his palisades from the said tree northeast by east and east northeast between both" (that is, midway between these two courses and along the present Gold Street), "till to Bestevaers Kreupelbosch" (the well-known modern "Swamp")

of Jacob Street and of the leather trade), "and from the East River northwest and north northwest" (along Ferry Street), "till to the same swamp." The fact that "the Swamp" itself did not pass under this description evidently shows that at this time Provoost had fenced around it, probably for the purpose of keeping his cattle out of its muddy depths. The rear portions of this farm, towards the present Chatham Street, were, it is also evident, only partly cleared of timber at the time of this grant.

Of the actual establishment of the Long Island Ferry on Loockermans' and Leendertsen's farm but little is known, except that it was under the control of Cornelis Direksen (usually spoken of as the first ferryman), as early as the fall of 1642. That there should have been some earlier regular means of communication with the Long Island plantations, which were established several years prior to the last-mentioned date, would seem altogether probable, but nothing in relation to the matter has come to us. The location of the ferry was the outcome of natural conditions which prevailed; the most feasible road to the river, upon the Long Island side, being down the ravine or depression which marked the course of the modern Fulton Street, and the landing-place upon Manhattan Island being directly opposite the termination of the Breucklyn road, and at nearly the narrowest part of the East River. As for Cornelis Direksen, the ferryman, he possessed a farm upon the north side of the present Fulton Street, near the ferry, upon the Long Island side of the river, and this he was, doubtless, actively engaged in clearing and cultivating at this time, for although the ferry and its appurtenances were under his control, as already stated, he does not appear to have been occupied, during much of the time, in its actual management, for as early as 1643 he had leased it to Captain Willem Tomassen. A house and landing-place being also required for ferry purposes on the New Amsterdam side of the river, it is quite evident that Loockermans' house and the land in its vicinity was hired for those purposes, but whether the building was used exclusively by

the ferryman and his employees, or whether it was partly used for purposes of the farm, is not ascertained. At some time prior to the year 1646, Loockermans' associate, Cornelis Leendertsen, died, and Dirck Cornelissen, who seems to have been his son, had taken his place; other "partners" in the Netherlands are spoken of in some papers executed by Loockermans and Dirck Cornelissen about this time, but this may refer merely to others of Cornelis Leendertsen's heirs. It was at this period that Govert Loockermans and Dirck Cornelissen, after reserving the farmhouse and a parcel of ground of irregular shape, lying to the east of it and embracing three acres or more of land, disposed of the rest of the farm in the following manner: The land lying between the farmhouse and Allerton's warehouse (then probably just in course of erection), was sold to one William Goulder. This parcel, which covered nearly two acres of ground, ran "from the height next the Strand" back to Bestevaers Kreupelbosch; and its easterly line seems to have about crossed the site of the present Harper building, near Franklin Square; along its foot on the "Strand" (no longer following the present Pearl Street), ran the road to Loockermans' farmhouse, and to the ferry.

Another parcel of ground sold by Loockermans and Cornelissen at this time was at the farthest extremity of their land along the East River, where there was a long, narrow strip of upland lying between the river shore and the meadow, called Wolpherts Vly; around its terminal point, the brook known as the "Old Kill" emptied into the East River, not far from the line of the modern James Street. This point of land, not more than one hundred and seventy feet in width at its widest part, and gradually diminishing throughout its length of about three hundred and sixty feet, almost to a mere point at its northeasterly termination, was sold to an Englishman named George Cleer. At the same time also, the balance of the Loockermans' farm was leased for ten years to Hendrick Pietersen van Hasselt, a farmer who had been one of the first tenants of the West India Company's bouwery

lying west of the common pasture, or modern City Hall Park. This man occupied a small house of his own on the Heerewegh, or Broadway, just outside of the "Land Poort," or gate at Wall Street, and was a well-known character of the town, who bore the whimsical appellation of Kint in 't Water, or "Child-in-the-Water."

If Loockermans and Cornelissen had any expectations that the neighborhood of their East River farm was to be improved by the grants they made to William Goulder and to George Cleer, in 1646, they were doomed to disappointment. Neither of these men seems to have made any attempt to build upon the lands purchased by them. There are traces of Goulder's occupation of his parcel as late as 1649, after which no further reference to him is met with.¹ George Cleer was living as late as 1660, when he took part in forming the first settlement of the town of Rye, in Westchester County; whether his design in purchasing this remote corner of land on the Loockermans' farm was to establish potteries or a mill there, as was afterwards done by others, we can only conjecture. At all events, both his parcel of ground and that of Goulder are soon found to have returned into Loockermans' possession, very probably by virtue of mortgages which he held upon them.

Through his marriage with the widow of Dirck Cornelissen, in 1649, Govert Loockermans had come into complete possession of the East River farm. In 1653 he sold the farmhouse, with its garden, orchard, etc., to the then newly appointed ferry-master, Eghbert van Borsum, who was the owner of the premises at the time of our survey. This man, who was the son of Jan van Borsum, of Embden, in East Friesland, an ancient town under German rule but with many Dutch characteristics, had come to New Netherland at a comparatively early date, where, in 1639, he married Annetje Hendrickse, of Amsterdam. He seems to have been engaged in the coasting trade, and in 1647 was master of the "yacht"

¹ He may have been the person called William Goulding, whom we find in 1661 at Gravesend, L. I.

Prins Willem. He was, moreover, on good terms with Director-General Stuyvesant, and in 1649 reported to that official certain hard things which the latter's enemy, Cornelis Melyn, had said about him at New Haven, with which Van Borsum claimed to have been greatly shocked.¹ Perhaps it was in return for these good offices that in the fall of 1652 Eghbert received the appointment of ferry-master to Long Island; and in the old farmhouse he kept a tavern, where many a thirsty passenger has refreshed himself before or after braving the perils of a journey across the East River in one of Eghbert's scows. Although the office of ferryman was no sinecure,—since by the regulations of 1654 he had to hold himself in readiness to transport across the river any passengers that might offer themselves between the hours of five o'clock in the morning and eight in the evening in summer, and from seven till five in the winter,²—yet Eghbert seems to have found it a lucrative one, and at about the time of our survey, or towards the close of the year 1655, he was actively engaged in building a new house for himself on the Breucklyn side. The old house and the ferry seem to have remained in Van Borsum's hands for several years longer, but by 1670 they had returned into the possession of Govert Loockermans.

At the period of our survey, the ferry-house was no longer the outpost in this direction, of New Amsterdam. In 1653, at about the time of the sale to Eghbert van Borsum, Loockermans had sold another parcel of land, lying to the eastward of Van Borsum's garden and orchard, to Henry Brazier, frequently spoken of by the Dutch as Herry Breser. Brazier was an Englishman from the shire of Essex, and is found in New Amsterdam as early as 1644, in which year he married Susanna, the widow of William Watkyns. He appears to have been a tobacco-planter, and had a tract of about thirty-two acres of land upon Long Island, somewhat north of

¹ See *ante*, page 115.

² The curious reservation was made, "not during tempests, or when the mill has given way."

the ferry,¹ and nearly opposite the land which he acquired of Loockermans. This plot, purchased from Loockermans, seems to have extended along the river from the ferryman's garden a distance of about two hundred and ninety English feet, to a point about seventy or eighty feet west of the present Roosevelt Street. From the shore it ran back from two hundred to two hundred and fifty feet to a line a short distance north of the present Cherry Street. The continuation of the ferryman's road still ran along the beach to give access to Brazier's place, and there is evidence that his house stood close to the shore at a spot a few feet east of the present Dover Street, and south of Cherry Street. Brazier had hardly established himself at this place when, in the summer of 1654, the Dutch in New Amsterdam were thrown into a great state of excitement by the intelligence that an English fleet sent by Cromwell had arrived in New England in the war then being carried on between England and the Netherlands, and that preparations were being made there for an attack on New Amsterdam. Henry Brazier, suspected by his Dutch neighbors, may have found his position an irksome one, or he may have considered the Dutch chances for successful resistance as hopeless, and may therefore have started off to acquire the merit of a timely submission to the anticipated new régime. At any rate he quitted New Amsterdam, — in all probability with his family, — although in doing so at such a time he violated one of Director-General Stuyvesant's ordinances. As peace, however, was soon afterwards declared between England and the Netherlands, Brazier found himself somewhat amiss in his calculations. He returned to New Amsterdam in 1655, much crestfallen, but Stuyvesant and the Council received him in high dudgeon, and made an order on the 5th of May of that year, that "Harry Bresar, who left in the time of the troubles, despite the notices, is to be allowed to return to settle his affairs, but not to become domiciliated." It took Brazier so

¹ Oddly enough, Mr. D. T. Valentine, and a host of those who have followed him, have transferred this land to the other side of the river, "in the vicinity of the present Franklin Square."

long to settle his affairs, however, that ten years afterwards he is found quietly residing here with his wife and family of four young daughters. The wrath of the Dutch was, as a rule, not of long duration, and Brazier probably had little difficulty in making his peace with them.

In 1653, Govert Loockermans disposed of the remaining parcel of the shore front of his farm along the East River (being the same parcel which in 1641 he had conveyed to George Cleer) to another Englishman, a Londoner named Thomas Stevenson. Stevenson about this time had recently been engaged in farming some land across the East River, and may have desired, as did many of the other Long Island farmers, to acquire a place of residence in New Amsterdam within the protection of the fort and garrison, and yet as near as possible to their farming lands. He built at once upon this point of land, but in the next year he left to take part in the newly established settlement of Middelburgh, the later Newtown on Long Island, selling his property upon the point, which then seems to have contained two buildings, probably of a rather humble description, to Willem Pietersen de Groot, a Dutchman from Haerlem, and to Jan Peeck, the latter of whom does not appear further in connection with the property. Willem Pietersen, however, soon leased the premises to a man who spent many years of his life there, and who purchased the place in 1657, a short time after the period of our survey. This was Dirck Claessen, from Leeuwerden, the capital city of the province of Friesland, in the Netherlands. He was more commonly known as Direk de Pottebaker, or "the potter," and it seems quite probable that he carried on his potteries at this place, his house being near the shore, and very near the present Roosevelt Street. Life was not all eau-de-cologne and rose leaves at that spot, any more in the seventeenth century than it is at the present day. The neighbors were not at all harmonious. Mrs. Brazier's patience was sorely tried by the pot-baker's hogs which frequently ravaged her garden, insomuch that she represents to the burgomasters that she "suffers great damage, and has to have

one of her children constantly in attendance." Nevertheless, the Braziers bore no malice, and when, not long afterwards, Dirck had had a serious falling out with his wife, a widow whom he had espoused a short time before, we find the deacons of the Dutch Church informing the magistrates that "Dirck Claessen, Pottebacker, has driven away his wife, and that the aforesaid woman suffers great want, and lies on straw without bed or bedding, at Mr. Herry Bresar's house at the ferry, by the fresh water, and has the ague, and that her husband will not allow sufficient for her support."

The road or track along the East River shore, less and less travelled as it extended beyond the ferry, till finally trodden mainly by Dirck Claessen and his hogs, terminated at that worthy's dwelling. Two or three years after the time of our survey, or in 1658, Abraham Pietersen, the miller, had thrown a dam across the little brook of the "Fresh Water," and near the present James and Cherry streets had built a tide-mill, which he used for a few years, till the neighboring residents made complaint of his dam throwing back salt water into the Kolck pond. In 1655, however, Dirck Claessen's house upon the Point was the Ultima Thule of New Amsterdam. Behind it lay the lonely salt meadow of Wolfpherts Vly, and before it stretched the lonely expanse of the East River. The wild ducks swam along the shore without much fear of molestation; gulls skimmed along the surface of the water; the fish-hawk sailed in graceful circles high above it, or shot down into it after his prey, like an arrow from a bow; and crows stalked along in search of dainties over the shingly beach, which stretched away towards the northeast, at the foot of the low bluffs, till at the distance of a mile or more it curved to the left and disappeared around the tumbled boulders of Corlaers Hoek.

APPENDIX I

THE JUSTUS DANCKERS VIEW OF NEW AMSTERDAM

AFTER the completion of the text of the present work, there came into the possession of the author a view of New Amsterdam of more than ordinary interest. It is an old lithograph, eight by eleven and one-half inches in size, and purports to be copied from an ancient etching of the same size, published by Justus Danckers at Amsterdam. Like the "Hartgers View," alluded to in a previous note, the authenticity of this view is vouched for by the fact that it is a reverse. The date given to the print is "about the year 1640," but as a matter of fact it represents a period about ten years later than that date. It was published by Henry R. Robinson of New York, at some date apparently between the years 1836 and 1842.

Upon reversing this view, it is found to correspond quite closely in its general appearance with the well-known "Vanderdonck View," but upon a minute examination, the points of dissimilarity are found to be numerous. These lead to the conclusion that the view is either the original camera obscura sketch (supposed to have been taken by Augustyn Heermans) from which the "Vanderdonck View" was prepared, and that the differences are caused by carelessness in the reversing and copying of that sketch; or else that the Danckers view is a different and independent one taken from about the same point, — upon the northwesterly part of Governor's Island, — and at somewhere about the same period.

Several of the topographical features of the town are brought out with much greater distinctness upon this Danckers view than on the "Vanderdonck View." Some of these are as follows:

1. The old storehouse of the West India Company, which occupied a part of the present Whitehall Street, is shown with great distinctness, occupying, in fact, almost the central point of the

picture. Whitehall Street itself is shown to have occupied a shallow depression or ravine running down to the East River.

2. The course of the modern Broad Street, with Cornelis Melyn's house and outbuildings occupying a portion of it, is clearly shown.

3. The ravine of "Burger's Path," leading down to the river side, can be distinguished without difficulty.

4. A curious structure with a conical or pyramidal roof, which, from the perspective of the "Vanderdonck View," appears to be a hay barrack at a great distance, and has always been a puzzling feature in that view, is shown in the Danckers etching as just peeping over a small rise of ground back of the "Great Tavern," and is at once determined beyond any reasonable doubt to be the low belfry tower attached to the old Bark Mill, in which the first church services were held, and of which previous mention has already been made in the text of this work.

5. The extreme right and left of the Danckers etching remain in an unfinished condition, just as the artist probably left it upon terminating his camera sketch. The shore of the East River, instead of turning around the fort in the direction of the Hudson, is continued indefinitely in a straight line. At the left-hand corner of the etching (being at the right of the true view), is what appears to be an almost mountainous elevation of land, which of course could never have occupied that spot. This was evidently a misconception of the artist's rough lines of the foliage of the thick clump of trees which is well known to have occupied the site of the present Hanover Square and its vicinity, upon the river bank.

Some difficulties in respect to the buildings in the Danckers View are encountered. The old church building upon the water side is by no means shown as clearly as it is in the Vanderdonck View; on the contrary, the houses seem at this point to be thrown forwards towards the river shore into a position which they could not have actually occupied. This leads to the conclusion that the Danckers View was a panoramic one, i. e., the point of view was changed, in order to make the houses in the vicinity of the "Great Tavern" show in better perspective. It appears to have been just at the site of the old church where the two views have been joined together, and the joining of the views has been so unskillfully performed that the church has been distorted or entirely concealed.

A curious feature of the Danckers etching is that it contains the silly addition of the sprawling human figure suspended by the waist from the crane upon the river side, as also another figure dangling from the adjacent gallows. Instances of capital punishment actually carried into effect at New Amsterdam are very rare, — so far, at any rate, as the records show, — and are mostly confined to cases arising in the garrison of the fort, or in the naval service, and the body of a criminal swinging from the gallows could never have been an ordinary sight. If Heermans was indeed the artist of this view, it is very probable that the addition of the figures was made by way of lampoon upon Director-General Stuyvesant's administration, Heermans being at this time in high enmity with the Director and with the Secretary Van Tienhoven. Upon the published view of Vanderdonck, the figures did not appear; but in the much later nondescript sketch, of little worth, sometimes called the "Montanus View," they do appear, the gallows being garnished in that view with no less than three imaginary culprits.

APPENDIX II

THE DESCENDANTS OF CORNELIS MELYN

IT may be not without interest to prosecute a few inquiries as to the descendants of Cornelis Melyn, whose career at New Amsterdam has been dwelt upon at some length in the text of this work (pages 94 to 125), and whom the author is inclined more and more to regard as the central figure of his day in New Netherland.

When Cornelis Melyn brought his family to New Amsterdam about the year 1641, it consisted of his wife Jannetje and three children, so far as we can learn. Of these his daughter Cornelia was at this time about thirteen years of age, and she seems to have been the eldest of the children. A son whose name is not furnished to us is said to have been drowned in the wreck of the "Princess" in 1647, when as a lad he was accompanying his father to the Netherlands, and the third of Melyn's children appears to have been his son Jacob, who reached years of maturity.

After the Melyns reached New Amsterdam, three of their children were baptized in the Dutch Church there; namely, Susanna, on the 14th of June, 1643; Magdaleen, on the 3d of March, 1645; and Isaac, on the 22d of July, 1646. Of the first two of these we have no further information, and they may have died young; but Isaac grew up, and was long a resident of New York. It has been shown in that portion of this work which is above alluded to, that, persecuted and harassed by Director Stuyvesant for the part he had taken in the affairs of New Netherland, Cornelis Melyn retired with his son Jacob, in 1657, to the New Haven Colony, and that there, together with his son, he took the oath of allegiance to the English government. Although he occasionally visited New Amsterdam during the next five or six years, he appears to have maintained his residence at New

Haven, but of the details of his life there we are ignorant; they would undoubtedly be interesting, if known, and might indeed form an important chapter in the history of the English conquest of New York in 1664, for Cornelis Melyn was a man who was most tenacious and unflinching in his purposes, and there is not the least reason to suppose that he had forgotten Stuyvesant's treatment of himself. Certain it is that from some reason he was jealously watched to the last, both by Stuyvesant and by the officers of the West India Company in the Netherlands. If, however, he had on foot any machinations against the rule of the West India Company, we have no reason to believe that he lived to see them carried out, for no allusions to him can be found later than about the beginning of the year 1663.

In the mean time Melyn's oldest daughter Cornelia and her young brother Isaac remained in New Amsterdam, as did also (for a large portion of the time, at any rate) Melyn's wife Jannetje. Cornelia Melyn, as already stated, had married, in 1647, Captain Jacobus Loper, and he, after a short married life, having died, leaving her a widow with two children, Jacobus and Jannetje, she married, on the 7th of April, 1653, Jacobus Schellinger of Amsterdam.

The Schellingers of Amsterdam were at this time a well-to-do family, who seem to have been quite largely engaged in mercantile affairs. Some of them were noticeably men of thrift, and the author's attention has been called to the "Kohier," or Assessment list of Amsterdam for the year 1631, upon which such a man as Kiliaen van Rensselaer appears assessed for 50,000 florins only; while Hillebrant Schellinger, "out schepen," is assessed at 70,000; Cornelis Gerritsz Schellinger for 70,000, and Cornelis Schellinger the elder at 36,000 florins.

Jacobus Schellinger was likewise engaged in mercantile business at New Amsterdam, where he is said to have come in the interest of an uncle at Amsterdam, whose name, as would appear from allusions in some of the records, was Pieter Toom. Schellinger seems to have resided in New Amsterdam for a period of some twelve or thirteen years after his marriage to Cornelia Melyn or Loper, in 1653. During that period he had four children baptized in the Dutch Church; namely, Willem, on March 8, 1654; Catalyntje or Catherine, on April 19, 1656; Abraham, on Sept. 20, 1662; and Daniel, on July 19, 1665. The name of Jacobus

Schellinger does not, it is true, appear in the assessment list of the town in April, 1665, but that of Cornelis Melyn does, though there is much reason to believe that he was not living at this time; and there seems to be but little doubt that it is the Melyn property which is referred to in the list, and that this property was in the occupation of the Melyn family, including Jacobus Schellinger and his wife and children.

Of the immediate descendants of Cornelis Melyn we have seen (page 125 of this work) that his youngest son Isaac had died prior to 1722, leaving only one child by his wife Temperance, daughter of William Loveridge of Albany; namely, Joanna, wife of Jonathan Dickinson. Jacob Melyn, the oldest son, married and had several children baptized in the Dutch Church; namely, Susanna and Jacob, on Oct. 3, 1674; and Daniel, Samuel, and Abigail on Aug. 7, 1677. This baptizing of his children in groups, so to speak, would seem to indicate that Jacob and his family were sojourning at times away from New York. He removed to Boston in his latter years, as previously stated, and no information has been obtained as to whether his name or lineage still continues.

Of Cornelis Melyn's daughter Cornelia, however, the descendants are still living in considerable number. She, with her husband, Jacobus Schellinger, and with her children, remained, as it would seem, in New York until 1666 or 1667, when they removed to the English settlement of Easthampton upon the eastern extremity of Long Island.

The causes which led a distinctively Dutch family to quit their associations of many years and the society of their countrymen, for the purpose of taking up their residence in a purely English community, and the reasons why these new-comers were unhesitatingly accepted among a people proud of their English birth or descent, not particularly desirous of additions to their organization, and abundantly disposed to scrutinize rigidly all new applications for membership, on account of the questions of the rights in commonage which were involved, would undoubtedly be, if fully known, an interesting episode in the history of the colonization of the New York towns. That the full details of this affair would throw light upon the mutual relations, now little understood, of Cornelis Melyn, Govert Loockermans, Isaac Allerton, and perhaps Jacob Steendam, with each other and with the

New Haven and Connecticut colonies, there cannot be much question. The Easthampton settlement was a distinct dependency of the mainland colonies, Governors Eaton of New Haven and Hopkins of Connecticut having made the original Indian purchase in 1648, as trustees for the settlers. The trading as well as the political relations were close between the new settlement and New Haven, and it was doubtless through New Haven that the attention of the Melyn family was directed to Easthampton; the immediate cause of their breaking up the domestic arrangements which had so long prevailed is quite likely to have been the fact that the two sons of Cornelis Melyn had now grown up to manhood and were perhaps desirous of establishing themselves upon their small patrimony in New York.

Whatever the causes may have been, we find Jacobus Schellinger in October, 1667, purchasing from one Benjamin Conkling the rights or a part of them which had previously pertained to an earlier colonist, Andrew Miller, whose "home lot" (now acquired by Schellinger) was a capacious plot of about twenty acres situated upon the north side of the main street of Easthampton, about in the middle of the present village.

As the family of Jacobus Schellinger, on their journey down to Easthampton, emerged from the two or three miles of woodland road which lay between their new home and the sloop which had brought them to the "Three-Mile Harbor," — the port of Easthampton in Gardiner's Bay, — they could see before them the fields of the new settlement, stretching in long strips, as at the present day, towards the dark oak woods which surrounded them, and could doubtless hear, as one may hear now, the quail piping to one another in the solitary back lots. Sixteen or seventeen years of cultivation had checkered the plain with alternating patches of wheat and rye, of maize and tobacco, and near the houses here and there a young orchard was growing up, or upon spots of greensward, the flax lay rotting in long brownish rows. Along the capacious village street, lined by a couple of score of low thatched cottages (some probably still of their original log construction), no rows of great elms stretched as at present, but the grass grew thickly in its broad space where perhaps the cattle, just returned from the Common Pasture, gathered at their owners' bars and gates, or at the farther end of the street crowded to

drink at the Town Pond. Upon the grassy bank (designed for a burial-ground) beyond the pond stood the little thatched church, and still farther in the distance, beyond the green slopes of the "Calf Pasture," the white sand dunes shut out the ocean.

Here Jacobus Schellinger and his family soon merged into the English community about them; in the course of the next generation nothing but the name remained to show an origin different from that of the Mulfords and Hedges, the Strattons and Hands surrounding them, and we find one of the grandsons of Cornelia Melyn, bearing the singular name of Lion Loper, in honor of Lion Gardiner, the great man of the settlement and proprietor of Gardiner's Island, into whose family some of the descendants of Cornelia Melyn appear to have married at an early date. Jacobus Schellinger was one of the most well-to-do men of the community, and is early assessed at the second highest figure in the town. With him and his immediate family had come his stepson, Jacobus or James Loper, then a young man just grown up, who soon acquired the grant of a new parcel of land a short distance east of his stepfather's home, on the north side of the road to the Three-Mile Harbor. Both Loper and his stepfather turned their attention at an early date to the whalefishing industry, then profitable at the eastern end of Long Island, and they were engaged in it for a number of years. They employed largely for their whaling crews the neighboring Montauk Indians, who were expert in this craft; and there is an agreement still extant by Schellinger and Loper with thirteen of the Indians, bearing date July 4, 1675, in which the former agree to furnish the necessary boats, and to cart the products of the fishery a distance not exceeding two miles for the purpose of trying or boiling; the Indians to receive one half of the profits. The Schellingens indeed appear to have been somewhat prone to dealings with the Indians, and a curious indenture of apprenticeship still exists, important as showing at what an early date domestic relations were established between the Easthampton settlers and the Montauk Indians. In this document a certain "Muntauket Indian commonly named Papasequin" and his wife agree with Jacobus Schellinger and his son Jacob to bind out to the latter "our sonn named Quausuch, ould now above seaven yeares;" the time of apprenticeship was to run from "primo Aprill at ye yeare eightie eight," and was to extend to April 1,

1698, at which time, besides certain payments to the father, in case of good behavior, etc., of the lad, the latter was to receive the sum of ten pounds in money or goods.

The Schellingers at Easthampton were not altogether cut off from their former life, for here Cornelia Schellinger's brother Isaac occasionally brought in his vessel to the Harbor with freight from New York. One of his receipts for freight for the return voyage is still extant. It is dated "one board the barke, 25 May, 1680," and shows that he took with him "tobacco pips," from the fields of Easthampton, linen and woollen from its domestic manufactures, whalebone and oil from the fisheries, and the unsold remainder apparently of a mercantile shipment, from William Darvall, a well-known merchant of New York, embracing ironware, "Sarge and Cersey," and gunpowder.

Jacobus Schellinger resided at Easthampton for more than a quarter of a century, and there two of his children, Cornelis and Jacob, were born. He died on the 17th of June, 1693, aged sixty-seven years, but his wife Cornelia outlived him nearly another quarter of a century, dying on Feb. 25, 1717, aged eighty-eight years. Both are supposed to have been buried in the old churchyard of Easthampton. It was a few years before the death of his father that Jacobus Schellinger's son Abraham, then a man of mature years, had his attention directed to the fertile lands lying two or three miles east of the village of Easthampton, at what was called by the Indians Amagansett. Here he procured a large grant in 1690, and here he and his youngest brother Jacob are supposed to have been the pioneers of the village of Amagansett, the most easterly hamlet upon Long Island; his name is believed to be still commemorated in "Abram's Landing," a small haven upon Gardiner's Bay about a mile east of Amagansett, and in "Abram's Path," a narrow wood road in the same vicinity.

After the death of Jacobus Schellinger, the homestead at Easthampton appears to have remained in the possession of his oldest son Willem, but in the course of time to have passed to a branch of the Gardiner family. As for Abraham Schellinger, the pioneer of Amagansett, he seems to have died in the early part of the year 1713 (N. S.). His will, which is to be found in the Surrogate's Office of New York, disposes of his land at "Amugonst" to his oldest son William; while to his son Abraham he devises

a half-interest which he held in Plumb Island, between Long Island and the Connecticut shore; and to another son, Isaac, he gives an interest in three tracts of land in the county of Westchester, New York. Besides these three sons, Abraham Schellinger also left a young son, Zachariah, and three daughters.

Like that of her mother, Jannetje Melyn, Cornelia Schellinger's life was long and eventful; her memories must have embraced Antwerp in its decaying splendor, and New Amsterdam with no splendor at all, — merely a few thatched cottages around the fort. She remembered Staten Island as an unbroken wilderness, and her father's plantation there, twice destroyed by Indians, and the days of panic and distress in the little house on the Graft in New Amsterdam. Then came the long struggles of her father against colonial maladministration and his self-imposed exile from New Amsterdam, during many years of which the care of his family had devolved largely upon herself. She had seen the village of huts at New Amsterdam grow into a town of importance, and had seen the English rule supplant that of the Dutch. Of her father's two great enemies so well known to her, she could remember how the life of one had closed in horror in the wreck of the "Princess" (when her own brother and her pastor also perished); and how the other had ended his days in seclusion and in bitter humiliation at his farmhouse up the Bouwery Lane on Manhattan Island. In her latter years she found half a century of quiet life filled with domestic duties, but besides her son Abraham she was also fated to see her youngest son Jacob grow up to adult manhood, and die before her in the year 1714. He, as it appears, had married into the English family of Baker at Easthampton, and left a family of eight children surviving him. Through the various branches which have been enumerated, the descendants of Cornelia Melyn are still to be found in large numbers in the vicinity of Easthampton, as previously stated, but it is not within the design of this note to pursue the later genealogy.

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